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THE DUBLIN REVIEW.

APRIL, 1905.

ART. I.—RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES IN LONDON.

Life and Labour of the People in London. By CHARLES BOOTH. First Series: "Poverty," 4 vols. Second Series: "Industry," 5 vols. Third Series: "Religious Influences," 8 vols. and map. London: Macmillan and Co. 1902.

Poverty: "A Study of Town Life." By B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE. London: Macmillan and Co. 1903.

THE name of Mr. Charles Booth has been prominently before the public now for many months. He is a member of a Royal Commission, and also of the Right Hon. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's private commission to enquire into all the aspects of the much-debated fiscal question. What has undoubtedly earned for Mr. Booth his present prominence is that he is recognised as an authority of exceptional profundity on the problems connected with the toilers of London: namely, those that deal with the conditions of their labour, their home-life and surroundings,
[No. 54 of *Fourth Series*]

the influences that work amongst them for good and for evil. A city man of ample means, Mr. Booth is also a thinker and a philanthropist, profoundly moved by the hardship of the lot of the majority of the working classes. Anxious, if possible, to get to the bottom of these vast problems, which from time to time have engaged the attention of statesmen in a desultory sort of way, he seems to have come to the conclusion that any workable solution could be attained only by a careful study, at first hand, of the actual conditions regulating the lives of our workers; that that study should be systematic and exhaustive, covering the entire ground in all its parts. The undertaking was vast. When we consider the area of London within the police jurisdiction—roughly about one hundred square miles—it would seem to be utterly beyond the powers of one man to carry through. Yet one man, by indomitable perseverance, has accomplished the task, and that not perfunctorily, but with a completeness as admirable as it is evident. It was a work, not of weeks, nor of months, but of years. The mass of data collected during something like fifteen years of assiduous visiting, questioning, and observing in every part of London, has enabled and entitled Mr. Booth to codify his experiences and to generalise his observations, so that they may apply, with something approaching accuracy, to any and every part of the Metropolis. With rare modesty, however, Mr. Booth does not venture to claim this authority for his conclusions; though few will withhold it from such an unique opportunity as his has been of arriving at a just estimate of the forces at work in our midst. These conclusions, together with the evidence upon which they are based, Mr. Booth has embodied in a gigantic report for the enlightenment of those interested like himself in the problems he had set himself to tackle. This report fills seventeen goodly volumes averaging 320 pages apiece, sumptuously brought out by Messrs. Macmillan and Co. These seventeen volumes deal with the entire subject under three aspects: (1) "Poverty," (2) "Industry," (3) "Religious Influences." The first series occupies four volumes, and considers the question as it presents itself in an accentuated form in East, Central,

and South London. The streets and populations are classified; blocks of buildings, schools, and immigration are discussed; and the trades, as connected with poverty, are passed in review. The second series fills five volumes, and enquires into the conditions affecting and affected by the building trades, wood and metal working, the workers in the precious metals, printing, and many other callings, such as dealers, clerks, domestic service, and the professional and leisured classes. It also considers the questions of food and dress, transit and labour, and winds up with a general survey of these complex subjects, thus affording comparisons and embodying the conclusions arrived at thereby.

This meagre summary in barest outline suffices to show the wideness of scope of the enquiry undertaken by Mr. Booth, but from the nature of the case can afford no indication of the absorbing interest of the volumes themselves, nor of the wealth of detail with which they are replete, and of the lucidity and order which characterise them. They are as enthralling as a sensational novel, instructive as a manual, and fully explain why Mr. Booth has suddenly leaped into fame. The man who could organise such a vast undertaking could organise anything. Hence Mr. Booth's opinion on these or kindred subjects must, for the future, carry immense weight in the deliberations of any committee of which he may by good fortune be a member. Such a man cannot be thrust aside. He must be heard and made use of, because his knowledge of the questions affecting the masses is simply unrivalled; and the knowledge thus acquired first-hand must be utilised to the fullest extent if any practicable solution is to be hoped for.

It would be impossible to do even inadequate justice to the inquiry here outlined within the limits of half-a-dozen articles, much less of one, hence no attempt will be made. The larger section of the report is contained in the third series of eight volumes, and deals with the "Religious Influences at work in London," and this aspect it is proposed to examine here more closely. Mr. Booth found this portion of his task so vast that he subdivided his

enquiry into sections embracing respectively the inner and outer rings of London, the North, the South, the City, and West End, together with the South-east and South-west districts. As will be perceived, these separate divisions completely cover the area of our Metropolis. The data afforded by these various sections are summed up in a final volume, which alone might be made the basis of this paper. It will readily be conceived that one section must be very much a repetition of another as to general results; but it must also be borne in mind that some areas fall under one kind of influence more than do others; hence all shall here furnish their quota.

In religious questions, personal temperament and predilections influence our estimate of persons, the value of work done, and the consequent deductions and conclusions. It becomes of interest, therefore, to determine Mr. Booth's own standpoint with regard to religion and religious influences. Catholics, Anglicans—High, Broad, and Low—and Nonconformists (to omit other forms of religious belief), almost necessarily approach the same religious questions from different, even if not occasionally antagonistic, points of view. How, then, are we to label Mr. Booth? Not that this is a profitable proceeding, or one to be commended in itself. Mr. Booth is careful not to state precisely his own theological leanings; but after a careful perusal of his volumes it appears necessary to locate Mr. Booth's position on account of the added value of his testimony as a result. Reading between the lines, therefore, the conclusion seems to be established that Mr. Booth is a member of the Church of England, specifically of the old-fashioned Low Church type, whose leanings and sympathy are decidedly towards the higher Nonconformist type, as represented by the Congregationalists. If this estimate of Mr. Booth's religious convictions and sympathies be inaccurate, a sincere apology is here offered to that gentleman for the mistaken diagnosis. But as this appreciation of his vast enquiry is in no sense polemical, the mistake, if mistake there be, is of no real consequence, and would not materially affect the use to be made of the conclusion that has been based on the contents

of the volumes before us. While Mr. Booth evidently endeavours to express himself dispassionately, and to treat all denominations fairly and without conscious bias, nevertheless his predilections and sympathies peep out unmistakably. Hence, though he seems to prefer the Low Church type of interior and the services therein conducted, or the spontaneity of the Free Churches, and does not conceal his dislike and contempt for Ritualism, these very facts make his tribute to good work (even when found in quarters with whose theological system he is out of sympathy) of greater value. As will appear later, the higher the scale of Ritualism touched, the nearer the approach to the Catholic Church, the deeper does he find the true religious life to be rooted in the adherents of these more advanced churches. His references to Catholic churches are, as compared to the rest, meagre; nevertheless he has never anything but praise for the work he finds being done by our clergy. It is for this reason that it seemed so needful to locate Mr. Booth's own religious standpoint; and bearing this in mind, we shall be prepared the better to follow his investigations.

Let the place of honour be ceded to his estimate of the Catholic Church, from which several extracts shall here be given without any apology for their length. They enable us to see ourselves as others see us. Mr. Booth records that "in London the Roman Catholic Church meets us at many points and in very different shapes; and in watching its methods we become conscious of the persistency and concentration displayed, and of the remarkable powers of adaptation characteristic of this body. Their exercise extends from high statecraft, through the whole range of appeal to intellect and emotion which constitutes 'the propaganda' in England, down to every form of guidance and control that can be exercised in the interest of religion upon men and women of all conditions, the whole system being carried to a degree of perfection and stamped with a thoroughness which make all the Protestant methods seem pinchbeck in comparison.

"Of the extent and degree of the power of this Church over her own people there can be no question. There is

much less nominal adhesion among the Catholics than among the Protestants. The same may doubtless be said if we compare Protestant Nonconformity with the Establishment, for it must nearly always be the case that the State Church in any country will contain the largest proportion of those who attend for form's sake and are at heart indifferent. But the solidity of the Roman Catholic Church here not only exceeds, but is different in kind from, that of the Protestant Churches, being based on the exceptional powers vested in the priesthood, and confidently exercised by them, with the result that their influence in their own sphere, whether for good or evil, is much greater than that of the clergy or ministers of any Protestant community in theirs."*

The source of influence is not perhaps strictly accurately indicated; but the general idea enunciated is sound, and the rest may pass for the sake of the fact admitted and the favourable comparison drawn. Mr. Booth's estimate of the earnestness of the Catholics is emphatic and ungrudging, and he yields great praise to the energy and self-sacrifice with which money is collected and contributed for church and school building. He pays a further tribute to the scrupulous care with which the money so collected is spent. As to the churches and chapels themselves, he says: "No buildings in London devoted to religious purposes are more fully used."† His estimate of the clergy is also remarkable. "The priests," he says, "live as poor men among the poor. Their food is simple, their clothes are threadbare; they take few holidays, they live from day to day—if they have a shilling in their pocket no one in want will ask in vain. Abstemious and self-restrained themselves, they are yet lenient judges of the frailties that are not sins, and of the disorder that is not crime. This kindly gentleness is after the event; at the time, no one could be more uncompromising in denunciation or more prompt in interference."‡ In regard to this latter charac-

* *Life and Labour in London*. Third Series. Vol. vii., ch. v., pp. 241-2. [N.B.—The reference will always be to volumes of the Third Series, unless otherwise indicated.]

† VII., 243.

‡ VII., 243.

teristic, Mr. Booth quotes the admiring testimony of a Congregationalist minister, who assured him that it was in a poor Irish quarter that he first realised the power of the Church through observing that a priest "would not hesitate to go into a public-house, lug a man out by the scruff of the neck, and cane him in the street," and added his conviction that "the Romans are a real influence for good amongst the lower class." This generous admission is of some importance in appreciating the value of the spiritual forces at work amongst the poor.

The Irish, of course, form the bulk of our portion of the labouring classes. Mr. Booth's estimate of them is, therefore, of some interest; it will be found to be not unkindly, and, on the whole, accurate. "As a rule, the better Catholic the better Irishman, and the better Irishman the better Catholic."* Could a more terse description be formulated? "With the poor Irish the police are recognised enemies, against whom the whole street is ready to unite. If in some domestic quarrel the priest interferes, they submit; but let a policeman attempt it, and he may be kicked to death. Quarrelsome and violent, unrestrained as children, and brutal when their passions are loosed, they are yet full of natural piety; and the priests who live with them and love them 'can find no harm in them.'"[†] There is considerable penetration also in the following passage bearing on the same point: "Religious feeling lies very deep in the Irish character, and contains a singularly small infusion of superstition. The Catholic Church understands, as no other does, how to distil a pure religious essence from the rankest superstition; but with the Irish no such alchemy is required. Among Catholics they are early Christians. They remind one of the Primitive Methodists in their simplicity and their freedom alike from intellectual subtleties, emotional excitement, or the undercurrents of superstition in connection with their faith. It is rather as lingering remnants of black magic that superstition is found among them."[‡]

Mr. Booth considers that a broad distinction may be drawn

* VII., 246.

† VII., 246.

‡ VII., 247

between our churches situated in poor districts and those located in wealthier quarters which minister to the wants of the middle class and the cultivated. Amongst the former he has not discovered any propaganda, any attempt to make converts—only strenuous effort to hold their own or regain the lost; but in the latter category it seems to him that propaganda enters largely into the scope of their activities. Although, of course, this distinction is inaccurate if we consider the aims of the Church and her clergy, yet it gives a fairly correct estimate of the work, or rather the scope for work, as regulated by the changing conditions of different classes of parishioners. In the working districts, life is too strenuous, too filled up with the mere effort to exist and to compete, to allow time for much thought on the things of the soul and of eternity; hence, *prima facie*, enquirers are more likely to be found in the West, where the conditions allow time to think, than in the East, where toil and the struggle for daily bread overshadow all else and deaden brain and conscience alike.

The influence and the hold of the Church on the lives of her children has not escaped Mr. Booth's notice, and his appreciation of it is evident. "The reality of the power of the Church of Rome," he writes, "is as remarkable with the cultivated classes as with the rougher, with the educated as with the ignorant, with those who have all worldly advantages no less than with those who have none. For poor and rich alike their religion seems to be their greatest possession. True religion, wherever met, brings with it this equality before God. Among those of rank, wealth, and fashion, whether hereditary Catholics or newly-won converts, their faith enters into, and I think governs, their lives to a degree rare among Protestants. One cannot mix with them, or enter their places of worship, or talk with the priests and fathers, or have audience of the dignitaries of the Church without being conscious of this. All seem to have a common spirit, all to be working with a common aim."*

* VII., 249.

It is the more pleasant to call attention to these sample passages, not only for the kindliness they exhibit towards Catholic work, but also because they afford striking testimony to the unbiassed spirit which Mr. Booth has brought to the study of the religious phenomena of London.

Mr. Booth's penetration is, perhaps, most marked in his lucid characterisations of the peculiarities which differentiate the sects one from another. It has often been a subject of reproach amongst Catholics themselves that more success than has actually been obtained should not have attended our efforts to gain a hearing for the Church's claims from "the churches." The rejoinder made is that it is most difficult to get at an intelligent exposition of their real tenets, and of the differences that divide them one from another. Something, however, may be learnt from Mr. Booth's pages; but at the same time we may console ourselves for, and even justify our bewilderment, for he declares that "in a parish in which other Nonconformist places of worship are rather wanting, a United Methodist Free Church Minister noted that he has Baptists, Wesleyans, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians among his congregation, and it is of interest to note the common ground thus indicated."* This instance stands, doubtless, for many similar ones; and if the dividing line between the sects is so indefinite and nebulous, we may be pardoned for the confusion we sometimes feel in dealing with the many forms of negation and grades of belief which cross our path.

The Baptists are presented to us in the following estimate of themselves, their activities and methods: "The Baptist views of life, of the relations between soul and body, of sin and its consequences, of redemption and regeneration, and the ways of God towards men . . . are somewhat austere. Hell plays fully as great a part as Heaven; pleasure is distrusted as a wile of the Devil, and the personality of the Evil One retains a reality which in the case of other sects has begun to fade. Such convictions . . . are, perhaps, more in accordance with the male than the

* VI., 67.

female character ; and, in fact, the Baptist community is virile beyond any other Christian body. . . . Minds of firm and, perhaps, coarse texture—independent and responsible, if rather heavy—unable to take sin, or anything else, lightly ; such as these are apt to be fostered by middle-class education and habits, and to such of these as are spiritually awakened the Baptist faith appeals with force. . . . With this faith, too, there is concurrent evil. As the attitude of the Congregationalists leads to self-sufficiency, so that of the Baptists brings with it a too obtrusive piety, and so provides the material out of which hypocrisy contrives her hateful cloak. . . . One and all are devoted to their cause, and each Bethel, Ebenezer, or Zion has its small circle of supporters . . . earnest, God-fearing men and women to whom their religion is very real indeed. . . . Although leading to division, such intensities of conviction result in strength ; and whether taken individually or collectively, the Baptist churches are a great spiritual force in London ; and the religious influence they exert is very deep.”*

Congregationalism seems to be the particular form of Nonconformity which most meets with Mr. Booth's approval and with his warmest sympathy. Should Disestablishment ever become an accomplished fact, it would seem that the Church of England would split into two main sections : that of the High Church, with its Roman tendencies, not unlikely in process of time to be absorbed into the ancient church of the land ; and the Low Church, in its many gradations, gravitating towards the methods of the “Free” churches, with which it has the greatest affinity. Congregationalism, whose central idea is the independence of congregations, would naturally absorb some portion of the High Church element, with its eclectically graded ritual, and some of the best elements of the Low Church. Wesleyanism, on the other hand, would then preponderate as a system amongst the present Nonconformist bodies by reason of the great accession to its numbers from the Low and Broad Church sections. In view of these tendencies

* VII., 124-8.

here broadly indicated, it becomes of interest to learn what Mr. Booth has to say about these two representative "Free" churches.

Of Congregationalism, he notes that it "is a very efficient religious system. . . . But it has its faults, of which the chief is that, beyond self-confidence, it is apt to engender a spirit of self-satisfaction. We have not here the over-powering sense of unworthiness which seeks God in humiliation and prostration of soul, and finds support in the ordinances of His Church; nor the spiritual struggles of a sinful nature conscious of its need for regeneration; . . . nor is there here the humility of intellectual doubt that has learnt to live in semi—or even total—darkness with abiding faith. . . . In doctrine the tendency on the whole is towards unorthodoxy. . . . In some of the churches, however, the teaching is as uncompromising as amongst the Baptists; and except on the question of baptism, almost exactly the same. . . . As a rule it is the pastor whose views change. Preaching one thing, he gradually comes to believe another. . . . On the whole the influence of the Congregationalists is more social than religious, but it is good and wholesome, and being without exaltation, is free from the dangers of reaction."*

Of the Wesleyans, Mr. Booth has much to say. The following excerpts may, however, be taken as summing up the heads of his verdict on them. "The Wesleyan system provides all the machinery that is needed for a National Church. Partly on this account the Wesleyans approach more closely to the Establishment than do other Nonconformists. Some of their churches use a Liturgy and adopt an order of morning service differing but little from that used by the Church of England; nor is there any very marked divergence of accepted doctrine. In their buildings, too, they usually follow a style of modern Gothic, similar to that commonly employed by the Church of England, the only difference being that they deliberately place the organ where the altar would stand, if there were one, and thus typify and emphasise the everlasting breach

* VII., 118-121.

of Protestantism with the doctrines of the Mass."* We may well exclaim with Gratiano: "I thank thee (Booth) for teaching me that word." In these days when it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish true from counterfeit in the outward semblance of Ritualist churches and our own, it is wholesome to find a man who does not hesitate to "emphasise the everlasting breach of Protestantism with the doctrines of the Mass." Further, he points out that the Wesleyans are "more filled with religious enthusiasm than are the Congregationalists, more emotional than the Baptists, and taking a more joyous view of life than either. . . . But with all this energy, activity, enthusiasm, and zeal, there is something hollow, unsatisfactory, and unreal about Wesleyanism as a religious influence which I find it difficult to put into words. . . . The enthusiasm and overwrought emotions of the Wesleyans produce a false atmosphere of exaggerated language. Reports are set in a high key in order to get money. One who speaks very frankly says: 'We have to be very careful in accepting reports made by ladies, who allow their feelings to run away with them, and we try to eliminate the untruthful, but we do not tell the whole truth.' This economy of truth is practised by others also, and exaggeration in order to obtain money is carried far further by some of the undenominational missions; but in self-deception the Wesleyans have no equals, and this it is that seems to me to undermine the value of much of their work, whether among their own people or among the poor. Yet the scope of that work is great, and for perfection of organisation it is unrivalled."†

In perusing Mr. Booth's instructive and highly interesting volumes, one fact seems to stand out prominently: the total absence of enthusiasm or even appreciation displayed towards the work of the bulk of the Church of England parishes in London. In vain do I look amongst my extracts for anything which struck me as really illustrating this portion of religious influence in the Metropolis. Rectors' and vicars' opinions

* VII., 131.

† VII., 132-6.

are quoted in plenty; but nothing in their statements seems to have impressed Mr. Booth as remarkable: certainly nothing arrested my attention. The work done appears to be routine and ordinary. This may account for the following words, penned about the parishes in Lambeth and Southwark, and summing up in the concluding paragraph the negative virtues of the well-meaning, kindly gentlemen whose labours, nevertheless, are thus "damned with faint praise." "All [the parishes] have large Sunday schools, and some of them have day schools also. All assert that the parents prefer that their children should have religious instruction. Thus amongst the children the churches have ample opportunity; but when they try to push their advantage in any direction they invariably fail. They administer charity, but dare not let their right hand know what the left hand is doing, lest the right hand show the folly of it. . . . They visit the homes and persuade the women to attend their mothers' meetings, but are able to exercise very little influence on their lives. Clubs for men and boys and girls are launched, but can only be maintained in a kind of galvanic existence. There is no up-springing life in any of these things.

"On the other hand, there is no sensationalism; no direct bribery; no unhealthy stimulus or excitement. If the results be hard to trace . . . such influence as is exercised . . . is wholesome and genuine."*

When, however, Mr. Booth turns his attention to the High Church, or rather Ritualistic party, he shows his dislike for their views, their aims and methods in no disguised way; and where the opportunity occurs he is not slow to pick holes. Thus, speaking of a certain church south of the Thames, he says: "Up to 1899 the work was carried forward on the lines of High Church practices, combined with the sensational appeals and great pretensions with which its name has become connected. The work has been very futile on the religious side, and on the social side positively mischievous. Huge sums have been raised by rather questionable means, and spent none too

* IV., 30.

wisely. There is a considerable and remarkable consensus of opinion that the evil conditions of the neighbourhood have been accentuated by the action of this church."*

And yet, notwithstanding such outspoken condemnation, and with all his ill-disguised prejudice, admiration is extorted from his unwilling pen for the devotional attitude of the worshippers in these churches. The contrast between the coldness and formalism of the ordinary church of the Establishment; the flippancy, amounting indeed to irreverence, observable in some of "the churches"; with the sense of the presence of God never absent amongst High Church worshippers is forcibly emphasised; not, indeed, actually in so many words, but by implication, by confronting one passage with another. Thus Mr. Booth's general attitude towards Ritualism and its practices is well shown in the accompanying reference to a Kennington church, the contemptuous terms of it being but thinly veiled. "High Ritualism, outdoing Roman ceremonial, disports itself at the Church of St. John the Divine, and the Roman Catholics of Nightingale Square pick up the crumbs that fall."† St. Peter's, Wapping, while extorting from him ungrudging admiration for its organisation, nevertheless elicits a disclaimer against the value of the results. He says that there is to be found "one of the most concentrated and distinctive pieces of parochial work that London has to show. The devotion of the vicar is absolute, his spirit dominates everything, making the whole work focus in the realisation, so far as it can be realised, of the High Church ideal of a parish of devout communicants. . . . The value of it is difficult to measure. Religion, to gain strength, is lowered to superstition; other churches are robbed, but still the bulk of the population are untouched; the devotion to the poor is complete, but it is to be feared that they can hardly escape pauperisation. In these matters we require to attach many different meanings to the word success."‡ What could be more appreciative, however, than the description of the work and the services carried out at the famous Ritualistic shrine of St. Alban's,

* IV., 18.

† VI., 104.

‡ II., 35-6.

Holborn, or of the self-sacrificing devoted lives of its clergy? It is a beautiful picture and, from our point of view, abounding in hopefulness. "For a companion picture to the Italian Mission [Clerkenwell Road] I turn to St. Alban's, Holborn, where the services are no less crowded with worshippers, and the work is pervaded by a very similar spirit, though lacking something of the supreme sanction which supports the authority wielded by the priests of the Romish Church. . . . [He then notices the] extraordinary success in personal relations between the clergy and many individuals amongst those who form the congregation, and with the men and lads who join the clubs. . . . Nowhere is the spirit that actuates the High Church movement better represented—a spirit of devoted, impassioned work, based on strong convictions of definite doctrine . . . sustained, they would unhesitatingly claim, by inspiration from above. . . . The celebration of the Mass here differs very little from that in Roman Catholic churches, and the demeanour of the worshippers bears witness to the force of their belief in the real and special presence, there and then, of their God. . . . But, as with the Church of Rome, the work of this church is very much bound up with its services, and its main care is the religious life thus reflected. Its local influence rests mostly upon the effect that must gradually be produced by the devoted lives of the clergy."* The impression conveyed to Mr. Booth by a visit to the church was that "there seemed to be as many men as women present. . . . Almost all knelt through the service, and many crossed themselves at the proper times, and a considerable portion made all the requisite responses, following the order of the service exactly. There could be no question as to the feeling of devotion shown. They were men and women kneeling in the presence of their God. The service was beautifully given."†

At Rotherhithe the same phenomena repeated themselves: earnest work and reverence in church; in fact, an approach to our own idea of excellence. On one occasion Mr. Booth

* II., 145-7.

† II., 222.

visited St. Katherine's there, the only stronghold in that part of London of extreme ritual, and he had to admit that it was "certainly successful in its way"; but as a set-off to this, he conjectures that "perhaps some attend for the sake of the charitable relief that is given, for St. Katherine's is described as 'good to the poor.' We find in this church very devout behaviour among the worshippers, and that consciousness of being in the house of God, which some natures must find sadly wanting in the popular forms of religion whose success we have been noting."* All Hallows, another church of extreme ritual, is described as looking "exactly like a Roman Catholic place of worship. All seemed to reflect a loving familiarity with the church, making it a religious home."† In one church Mr. Booth notices that "all knelt";‡ in another that, "as a whole, the service was much less ornate than at most High celebrations, and the whole effect was intensely reverential and religious."§ On one occasion he attended High Mass at St. ——. These are his comments on the function: "One of the objects is evidently to be unintelligible. Even when intoned loud, the whole thing becomes a sort of gibberish. . . . The congregation [about 200] was very reverent, and evidently, for the most part, composed of habitual attendants, as they all knew when to cross, kneel, etc."|| Another Sunday he attended St. ———, on a blustering showery morning not favourable to church-going. Notwithstanding the freedom from obligation, he found on his arrival the church "already almost full" on one side. "The demeanour of the people was reverent, as it always is in the extreme churches. . . . At the conclusion of the service we sang the following defiant hymn, with its distinctly inconsequent, but very English, last verse of concession (or after-thought). Thus may we hope to avoid fire and faggot."¶ It may interest and even reassure Mr. Booth to know that the "defiant hymn" referred to, and printed in full, is our own "Faith of our Fathers," thus boldly annexed by our non-Catholic brethren, but with an alteration (a significant one, how-

* IV., 160. † IV., 172. ‡ III., 202. § III., 203. || III., 203-4.
¶ III., 204-5. *Italics mine.*

ever); for in the third stanza, "*Mary's* prayer" is changed to "*faith and* prayer shall win our country back to Thee." Had Mr. Booth known its true *provenance* he would, doubtless, not have commented on the inconsequence of the last verse, for it has a meaning amongst us that it necessarily loses in transplantation to a foreign soil.

Mr. Booth endeavours to account for the success of the Ritualistic movement in the following way. "It is natural," he says, "that the position of a priest carrying with it duties so high and powers so wonderful should exercise a great attraction, and accordingly we find most of the young men who take Orders, and especially the keenest spirits among them, ranged on the side of the High Church. The more exclusive the interpretation of their functions and the higher the ritual the easier it is to obtain the number of curates required, and they bring to their work an unequalled spirit of devotion. On the clergy the effect of these doctrines and practices seems almost entirely good. Subordination amongst themselves is easy, mutual confidence complete, and saintly lives spring from the soil. At a little distance it is easy to feel contempt for imitations of Rome, to laugh at Church millinery, or scoff at 'men in coloured garments sprawling before the altar.' But coming close, we find beneath all this a true spirit of religion, and as such it is undoubtedly recognised by the people."* This appreciation is good so far as it goes, but it does not go far or deep enough into the causes. It is, indeed, due to the conviction of a Real Presence in their midst (erroneous, alas! though it be), not a love of millinery or emotionalism; but the nearer these Anglicans approach to the Catholic Church in their acceptance of the doctrine of Transubstantiation the greater the spirit of devotion they display. This is neither the occasion nor the place to discuss the possession or absence of real Orders, on which, of course, depends the truth or the simulation of the Real Presence. All that need here be taken for granted is the deep and abiding conviction entertained by the High

* VII., 50-1.

Church or Ritualistic party as to the true nature of their priesthood with all the powers therein implied.

The keynote, then, of Ritualism is reverence in the conduct of divine worship. As already remarked, the dead level of routine Church of England services conducted strictly according to the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer has elicited nothing worth noting; but the general impression conveyed points to a lower level of spirituality, whether in clergy or in congregation. The farther we travel from the Mass the more the individuality of the minister emerges. It is the ascendancy of the pulpit over the altar, of preaching over sacrifice, of personality and individualism over mediation and the sinking of the person in the office. As we approach the Free Churches so we have to take our leave of reverence. That, again, is the keynote. Take, for example, the following description of the methods of Wesleyanism as adopted in Hoxton. This body there gives "many entertainments, including a free public concert every Saturday night in winter, which draws crowds, and is held in the church itself. . . . But with all this something more is needed, and is found in the vigour with which the pulpit is filled. As with the work, so also with the words—no interests are too mundane for religious association, and if there is a loss of reverence, then reverence must take its chance. . . . Out of this hurly-burly of religion emerges the true Church, the chosen few."* Passing from North to South, we find that the same causes produce the same results. A certain minister "made his first hit with illustrated lectures on topics of the day, making his own lantern slides, and being thus very much 'up-to-date.' A graphic illustration of some event of the morning was often on the sheet the same evening. In such ways he obtained, and has been able to keep, the ear of the people. A brass band to perambulate the streets and assist at the services, young men to button-hole the stranger and invite him in, and Sisters of the People to visit the homes and dispense charity, largely in the shape of free meals, have been among the methods adopted; while

* II., 126.

'Sunday Afternoons for the People,' of the usual popular pattern, have been held in the Town Hall, and meetings in winter at the public baths. It may, perhaps, savour too much of success at any price, but as a result [large congregations have been secured]. . . . It is claimed that this is a new piece of work, and that new people, previously non-churchgoers, have been gathered in. As to this it is difficult to say. . . . It is very difficult to measure the value of this work from the religious point of view. It claims to be wrought for the salvation of souls, but cannot, I think, be regarded as the great religious influence it desires to be. Attendances—always a crude test—are more than usually so when lantern-slides and attractive orchestral music are freely used as auxiliaries. But even if the methods employed sometimes tend to lower the standard of religious taste . . . the work . . . undoubtedly does much to lighten and brighten and add wholesome interests to city life."* This minister was subsequently transferred to another centre, where he repeated the success already chronicled. But Mr. Booth notes that "this whole movement is regarded with great distrust by many of the most deeply religious people,"† and he himself is clearly disgusted with Wesleyan methods as adopted in some quarters. Thus, describing a new centre of activity, he remarks that "there was a large audience in the new church, many, no doubt, being there from other congregations. The preacher, who was the leader of the circuit, showed a strong tendency to flatter his flock, which is a common weakness with Wesleyans. The sermon consisted of congratulation from first to last, only asking from his hearers continued efforts to spread amongst others the light vouchsafed to them. Something must be allowed for the occasion, but the effect was rather sickening, and it is quite impossible to suppose that anyone could receive spiritual benefit from such a discourse—happy if not the worse for it."‡ At Craven Hall, a well-known centre of the Wesleyan body, the same repugnance was felt by Mr. Booth at the unctuousness "to order" which

* IV., 83-4.

† IV., 109.

‡ V., 221.

there confronted him. Though he admits that "in the prayers uttered by the leader and by the sister there was doubtless sincere feeling in the background," nevertheless it seemed to him that "it was smothered by the hackneyed and conventional language which all used. The same well-worn phrases, coming again and again, were rendered the more trying by their thick punctuation with *Amens* by the leader when any of the others were praying. No one else was moved in the same manner, and one felt it to be an absolutely unreal expression of emotion."* On another special occasion, the service held at Wesley's Chapel, City Road, for the purpose of inaugurating the Twentieth Century Million Guinea Fund, Mr. Booth was amongst the audience, and the following are the impressions he took away with him: "What surprised me was the low level spiritually and intellectually of all that was said. No high note was ever struck, or only one (and I stayed to the end). This was when an old man 'trusted that the effort to obtain money might not choke spirituality,' or something to that effect. At this meeting there was no spark of spirituality to choke; nothing appeared but the pursuit of success. The audience seemed thoroughly to enjoy the electioneering style in which the meeting was conducted, with the 'state of the poll' read out every few minutes amid a shower of feeble jokes."†

Even the leadership of such an earnest and talented man as the late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes failed to put a greater sense of reverence into the services conducted by him at St. James's Hall. Crowds always attended, attracted by the individuality of the minister. Mr. Booth instinctively put his finger on the right spot when he said that it was a work done in "an atmosphere of high pressure;" and putting the question whether it would continue, seemed to think that it would, as, when he wrote, the enthusiasm first evoked had stood the test of ten years without waning. Ten years is, after all, but a short space, but it is now merely of academic interest. The disappearance of the famous preacher by death will now give the

* II., 219.

† II., 221-2.

opportunity of judging if such success as has been claimed for this venture belonged not to the work, but was entirely due to the magnetic personality of him whose voice is hushed. But even so, what did the success amount to? Let Mr. Booth speak. "Yet with this, as with other religious efforts in London, there is a certain measure of delusion which is not without danger. The work does not in fact fill the rôle which it claims to fill. . . . The crowds who fill St. James's Hall come to no great extent from those residing in the neighbourhood. . . . The poor are not seen there, nor the depraved, nor those who have been lifted out of those conditions. The bulk of those who come find in the service an agreeable Sunday pastime, a pleasant change from attendance at less lively places of worship."* Such a comment whittles away the real value to very small proportions; and, indeed, the description of a visit paid to St. James's Hall would hardly prepare the reader to suppose that an act of religious worship was in preparation or progress. "At 3 o'clock I found the audience slowly gathering, while an orchestra of twelve performers played light operatic music, such as on the stage might perhaps accompany a dance of villagers. There seemed no idea of limitation, sacred or even classical."† Of the sermon, Mr. Booth admitted that the preacher's words were earnest and effective, "though the admixture of politics and platform arts with religion may shock."

"Individuality and personality count for much among the churches." This potent factor is referred to again and again in various parts of Mr. Booth's exhaustive enquiry. Thus, describing the magnetic power of the late pastor of the City Temple, he says: "Dr. Parker is a great and earnest preacher, but had his lot fallen in that direction, he would have been a great actor. He has a keen sense of effect, and the whole service is an exquisite performance; *in this way he obtains* and moves his audience."‡ Meant for praise, is it not also to some extent condemnation? For the idea of striving for effect destroys that of sincerity

* II., 194.

† II., 223.

‡ II., 223. *Italics mine.*

and conviction. The actor's rôle is make-believe, not reality.

Another man now much before the public as the leader of the passive resistance movement is thus described in his work and his home surroundings. It is a work of his own creation, stamped by his individuality. It shows him as a social leader rather than as a spiritual guide. Is it not correct? "The Baptists, under Dr. Clifford, have carried a combination of religious and social activity to its highest point. There may be some question whether such social developments should be termed religious. . . . It is success of a rather personal character. . . . A similar success attends the work of all the religious bodies when these two-fold conditions are present.

"Under Dr. Clifford the development has been continuous. Thus a young men's Bible Class has become a 'Sunday Afternoon Conference,' with 'papers and discussions on biblical, philosophical, social, educational, and literary subjects'; and as an off-shoot of this organisation, social meetings for young people of both sexes are held after the Sunday evening service, and are made attractive by music and lectures and addresses on a wide range of subjects. Tea and coffee are served, and the members can invite friends. The object is to gather in the young people connected with the business houses (shops) in the neighbourhood. Special meetings are also arranged for the consideration of public questions. These are held in the chapel in order to accommodate large audiences, and addresses are given by leading public men. The Westbourne Park Institute is a remarkable outcome. The Institute, which uses the chapel hardly less than its own rather restricted premises . . . forms a kind of minor polytechnic, the best known feature of which is its admirable course of popular lectures by well-known people. . . . Behind and within all this lie the strictly religious organisations of the church and the power of the pulpit, the utterances from which breathe life into the whole."*

The effect of personality is well exemplified in the

* III., 124-5.

following reference to a Wesleyan mission situated in Hoxton. "This mission . . . is comparatively new, and its recent minister a young man full of hopeful energy. He came seven or eight years ago to a dwindling church of less than 100 members, but raised it sevenfold. . . . This minister has been moved elsewhere, and the crowds he attracted have fallen away."* A Scotch Presbyterian is quoted by Mr. Booth as accounting for some lapse of membership in his body by stating that it was "among the young people who, having a lighter grasp of their faith and less respect for tradition, are more easily driven away by a 'fossil minister' or some other cause. The character of a church depends so almost entirely on the personality of the minister, rather than on the service, as in the Church of England. . . ."† Another case in point is that of "Clifton Chapel in Asylum Road. . . . Has not of late been very successful, but a new minister has been appointed, of whom much is expected. 'We are all right now'; 'we shall be packed again now,' is what we hear said. So it is in almost every case—the man is everything. The congregations are drawn and held together by the sound of his voice. But it is also true that those whom his voice reaches are those of a certain class, or, more correctly, those of a certain type of mind, attuned to him and he to them."‡ One of the most noted examples of individuality was the late Mr. C. H. Spurgeon. He was, of course, always a 'draw' of a phenomenal order; and in reference to the great centre he created at his Tabernacle in Newington Butts, it is remarked that "the membership, which in the old days reached five thousand, is now about four thousand, and, in spite of the fall, remains unique in London. It is still drawn from a wide area, but less so than formerly. *The supreme attraction is wanting*, and those who used to come from Hampstead and other distant parts of London are beginning to settle down in chapels nearer to their homes."§

Even personal appearance may come to weigh heavily in the balance of success. Mr. Booth says: "In these cases

* II., 125

† III., 216.

‡ VI., 60.

§ IV., 76. *Italics mine.*

personalities are strongly marked. This is shown in our notes. It can be observed in the description given of the men. Pulpit appearance is of great importance. For example, we read: 'Fine head and great shock of hair'; 'Plain, bright, humorous face'; 'Frank, almost jovial tone'; 'Good presence, muscular, attractive'; 'Massive grey-haired man'; and with more than one a non-clerical appearance is mentioned. Or, as to the character of the eloquence, 'Emotional, succeeds as a preacher,' is said of one. 'Easy capacity, impressive,' of another. Though frequently said of Nonconformist ministers, it is not often that such things as these are considered and come to be reported of the clergy of the Church of England."* The same restriction holds good with equal if not greater force of the priests of the Catholic Church.

There are, of course, exceptions to this decent restraint as practised in the Establishment, as, for example, the bizarre performance offered at St. Mary at Hill by the Rev. W. Carlile, head of the Church Army, who, as it would seem, endeavours to emulate the Salvation Army and to adopt the methods of a penny "gaff." On a lamp-post in Eastcheap is a small board directing to the church of which he has charge, calling the attention of passers-by to the fact that there they may enjoy "cinos, photos, phonos!" Mr. Booth furnishes a minute description of the work carried on by this eccentric clergyman and of a service he attended. Pointing out that the work had no life in it apart from the personality of Mr. Carlile, he characterises it as a "strange blend hardly likely to be repeated." But such as it is, it cannot be ignored for the time being that it fills a nook in the present structure of philanthropy. "Its wholesale methods are solely to attract: 'a free club at the Rectory for destitute clerks,' and 'free meat suppers on Sunday for 40 men.' . . . The direct appeal made to those who frequent the Rectory and eat the Sunday suppers there is to their sense of manliness and self-respect, or what remains of it. . . ."† To anyone who has the slightest knowledge of the habits and aspirations of the casual loafer

* I., 129.

† III., 25.

who avails himself of this invitation, the suggestion that he will derive any benefit therefrom would be irresistibly comical were the circumstances not so sad ; but, at least, the effort commands sympathy if not approval. "For the immediate salvation of souls another net is cast. The first object is to fill the church. [Doors open at 6, and there is an 'early door' for men only as at a theatre or music hall. The service begins at 7]. The preliminary time is occupied with music from the organ, alternated with solo-singing and the display of lantern pictures. . . . On the night when I was present views were shown of the Rhine and Danube, &c., &c. . . . All was in darkness . . . and all in absolute silence and stillness . . . yet the church was full." Why not? Theatres and music halls were perforce shut by law, and this show was surely in the circumstances the next best thing! "On the whole it might be best described as a 'popular' audience ; 'pit' rather than 'gallery' in character, lower-middle and working-class, earnest, respectable, and well-behaved. There were some boys of the gallery kind who rushed in when the doors were opened, but they were intercepted in the vestibule. . . . There is, indeed, something impressive and quelling in all the arrangements, which even the megaphone—retailing some words of Archbishop Temple in a strange, half-cracked, far away, yet resonant voice—did not upset. . . . For the service itself, the lantern and sheet were in requisition, placing before the eyes of all the Order of Common Prayer and the words of the selected hymns. . . . Such is the net. . . . Many probably are merely chance visitors attracted by curiosity. . . . It is, however, probable that many, or perhaps even most, of those present would go to no place of worship if they did not come here. . . . Mr. Carlile cares not a jot if his methods shock. He even prefers that they should. To repel some is, he thinks, the only way to win others, and those others the class he desires to win. But even so, he does not succeed in reaching the low class at which he has aimed, and for whose sake what some have called his 'pulpit antics' are practised. Those who come may not be shocked ; at any rate, they are not driven away ;

but I doubt if they are in truth attracted by 'dialogues' suggestive of Ethiopian minstrels, or appreciate the punctuation of the service by the free use of the trombone which the rector keeps ever handy. . . . The main value of the church . . . lies in the service or entertainment, whichever it should be called, offered each week-day (except Saturday) from 1.15 to 1.45. 'Run in and rest a while, leaving when you choose; magic lantern, with highest devotional art; music, with solos by *artistes* vocalists; monstrephone at 1.30, with speeches by church dignitaries. Tell others and bring your friends'—so runs the card of invitation. In addition, coffee is provided (*gratis*) in the vestibule.* Mr. Booth writes as sympathetically of this place of worship as he can; nevertheless, it is plain that he does not approve of what he there saw. The *Daily Chronicle* sent one of its representatives to attend a service, and in its issue for July 11, 1904, devoted a column to the account of what took place on that particular occasion. The picture is not edifying, and the reporter wound up his description with the following pertinent remarks: "Emotions are very personal, and that is the reason why this visit to church may be written with some lack of sympathy. The combination of an old and rather beautiful church with garish pictures, of Isaiah with slang, of the words of Christ with bad music—this is—to me—simply painful."

It is only fair to quote Mr. Booth, and in so doing to put it on record that such bids for audiences, such "playing to the gallery," find many opponents. "The methods adopted," he writes, "are not always approved by the more old-fashioned. One of these clergy, an old man, whose own preaching has ceased to attract the worshippers who formerly filled his beautiful church, speaks with genuine detestation of the combination of 'attractions' with religion—'A *Missa Cantata* and a seven-minute sermon.' Worse still in his eyes is the use of such auxiliaries as 'cards, smoking, dancing, dramatic performances, and entertainments of all kinds,' culminating in the abomination of

* III., 20-25.

'taking a Bible Class to the theatre for a treat.' 'You may get people to church, but not by these means will they be made Christians.'"^{*} Some of these strictures seem somewhat straight-laced; but on the whole they make for righteousness, for in principle it cannot be in accordance with God's Majesty to forward His work by methods which are recognised as forming some of the wiles of Satan.

In the course of my own experience, limited though it be—infinitesimal as compared to Mr. Booth's—happenings have reached my ears which, if true, pointed to a grave state of things at some of "the churches," but it seemed safer and more charitable to consider such reports as exaggerated, ill-founded, and unreliable. After the evidence adduced above, however, there seemed some ground for crediting reports which from time to time came in my way. When, however, a leading minister in the Nonconformist bodies has courage to denounce certain practices, and when the allegations he makes go unrefuted, there is no alternative but to accept as at least substantially true statements that have hitherto been denied that appearance of authority. Thus the well-known Rev. F. B. Meyer has been recently reported as delivering himself in no measured terms on what is in effect a prostitution of ministerial work. I quote from the *Daily Mail*, July 4, 1904. The disclosure led to some correspondence, but not to any denial. "Of course I do not object to children kissing or playing kissing games, but promiscuous kissing between young men and girls of marriageable age is wrong and harmful." In his vestry at Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road, the Rev. F. B. Meyer thus expressed himself on what he termed a growing and most objectionable practice. "It was part of my duty as president of the Sunday School Union," said Mr. Meyer, "to visit the Sunday schools of the country. I was surprised and pained to find that in the North of England, at chapel social gatherings and school entertainments, these kissing games are very popular. The girls who take part in them

^{*} I., 129.

are quite young women, old enough to be married. All this encourages the sensuous side of human nature. . . . One minister told me that if he did not allow such games and pantomime entertainments to take place in his chapel buildings many of his congregation would go elsewhere." Comment would be superfluous. An even worse state of things was disclosed in the columns of the *Daily Chronicle*, August 16, 1904. The Rev. Job Urquhart, of Glasgow, was preaching a few days previously in a Baptist Chapel in the North of London. In the course of his remarks he is reported as stating that "he could mention churches in which a congregation could not be obtained unless the minister kissed all the young ladies." The point is that such damaging statements should go, and have gone, unchallenged. It would be unwise and ungenerous to accept them as a final verdict; but that it should be possible that they should be made, not, be it remembered, by opponents, but by friends; and still more, given the publicity of the daily press, is disquieting. Such evidence shows a downward trend: loss of spirituality is succeeded by emotionalism and sensuousness. It is of the earth, earthy. More will have to be said when dealing with the operations of the Salvation Army. But this paper has already stretched to inordinate length. To a future number, therefore, must be left the completion of this survey of Metropolitan religious influences and the consideration of the contrasts afforded, the dangers and black spots laid bare, and the remedies suggested. There is abundant food for reflection, much cause for humiliation, some gleams of hope and congratulation. But over and above all, the material gathered so industriously and successfully by Mr. Booth brings home to us the appalling fact that, notwithstanding all this effort, the underlying principle, when stripped of its trappings of religion, is not really the raising of mankind to a greater sense of its duty to its Creator—the service of God—but is very largely merely materialism, social amelioration, and philanthropy.

HENRY NORBERT BIRT, O.S.B.

ART. II.—QUEEN ELIZABETH'S JAILOR.

WHILE Edward's Council thought that they had effectually closed every issue through which news of the King's death might transpire before their seditious plans were completed, the Princess Mary was already on her way into Norfolk, calling all loyal men and true to rally around her standard. Two Norfolk gentlemen were mainly instrumental in placing her on the throne. These were Sir Henry Jerningham and the subject of this paper, Sir Henry Bedingfeld, of Oxburgh, who came in to her assistance at Framlingham with 140 well-armed men. Bedingfeld proclaimed the Queen at Norwich, and was afterwards rewarded for his loyalty with an annual pension of £100 out of the forfeited estates of Sir Thomas Wyatt. Mary made him a Privy Councillor and Knight Marshal of her army, and subsequently Lieutenant of the Tower of London, and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, vice Sir Henry Jerningham. She appointed him custodian of Elizabeth when that Princess was confined in the Tower and at Woodstock, on suspicion of being concerned in Wyatt's rebellion; and so little did Elizabeth resent his severity during the time of her imprisonment, that after her accession she addressed him as her "trusty and well-beloved," employed him in her service, and granted to him the manor of Caldecot in Norfolk, which forms part of the Oxburgh estate at the present day.

He was undoubtedly one of the foremost Englishmen of his day, respected by two sovereigns, occupying prominent and honourable positions, his loyalty being unimpeachable; yet Foxe, the martyrologist, with his wonted

unfairness, has without the slightest foundation and so effectually blackened his fame that almost every subsequent writer on this period has reproduced the calumnies set forth with malice prepense in the *Acts and Monuments*.

Strype was the first unquestioning copyist of Foxe, Burnet was the second, and Sir Reginald Hennell is the most recent.* Tennyson, in his dramatic poem *Queen Mary*, also went to Foxe for his historical data, with the result that, while discarding the more malicious interpretation of Bedingfeld's character, he has, nevertheless, passed on to posterity a coarse and grotesque caricature as though it were a portrait. The indictment was, however, not unchallenged, and in August, 1875, the father of the present baronet wrote to the Poet Laureate the following protest:—

SIR,—As a great admirer of your genius, I eagerly read your drama *Queen Mary*, but was so surprised and pained at the ignoble part which is allotted to Sir Henry Bedingfeld that I cannot refrain from addressing you on the subject. I feel justified in doing so, as I am the direct descendant of Sir Henry, and date from the house which was his home. The millions who will read *Mary Tudor*, or witness the play on the stage, will carry away the impression that my ancestor was a vulgar yeoman in some way connected with the stables, whereas he was a man of ancient lineage, a trusted friend and servant of the Queen, who confided to him in time of danger the Lieutenancy of the Tower and the custody of the Princess Elizabeth. This Princess so respected Sir Henry that, although she complained of his severity during her captivity, she visited him at Oxburgh after her accession to the throne, and treated him with the greatest consideration. Numerous documents in my possession, including letters from the Sovereign, from the Privy Council, and from the most eminent men of the time would prove, were such proof required, the high position held by Sir Henry. I trust, therefore, to your feeling of justice that you will, if possible, either strike out Sir Henry's name from future editions, or allot to him a more dignified part on the stage, and one which will convey a more correct view of his character and position.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY BEDINGFELD.

* In his volume, *The History of the King's Body Guard of the Yeomen of the Guard*, Constable and Co.

Tennyson's answer to the above, dated from the Isle of Wight six months later, though courteous, left the matter almost where it was, so far as historical accuracy was secured :—

SIR,—Your letter arrived when I was abroad, else would have been answered at once ; and, therefore, I waited till the play should be announced for acting. I had made your ancestor an honest gentleman though a rough one, as I found him reported to be, whether that were true or no ; and I regret that you should have been pained by my representation of him. Now, in deference to your wishes his name is not once mentioned on the stage, and he is called in the play-bill merely "Governor of Woodstock." Moreover, I have inserted a line in Elizabeth's part, "But, girl, you wrong a noble gentleman."

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

A. TENNYSON.

In spite, however, of the best intentions on the part of the author, the American edition of the play, priding itself on being "the only un mutilated version," preserves the exact wording of the poem.* Thus has history ever been medicated to suit the prejudices of the ignorant and the uncritical. Sir Henry Bedingfeld, who was born in the year 1509, was the grandson of Sir Edmund Bedingfeld, the favourite of three successive kings, Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII. This same Sir Edmund had served in the Wars of the Roses, and Edward IV., by letters patent of the twenty-second year of his reign, granted to him "for his faithful service, licence to build towers, walls, and such other fortifications as he pleased in his manors of Oxburgh, together with a market there weekly, and a court of pye-powder." He also bestowed on him his own royal badge, the Falcon and Fetterlock. Richard III. made him a Knight of the Bath, and Henry VII. visited him at Oxburgh. In the third year of his reign Henry VII. granted three manors in Yorkshire Wold, Newton, and Gaynton to him and his heirs male for ever, in return for his help in crushing the rebellion in the North,

* De Witt's Acting Plays, No. 181, *Queen Mary*: a drama. Edited by John M. Kingdom.

which patent was renewed and confirmed by Henry VIII. Sir Edmund died in 1496, and was succeeded by his only son, another Edmund, who attended Henry VIII. in his foreign wars, and was knighted for valour by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, after the taking of Montdidier in 1523. The King appointed him steward to Katharine of Arragon at Kimbolton. He married Grace, daughter of Henry Lord Marny, and by her had four sons, Henry, Edmund, Anthony, and Humphrey. Henry, who succeeded him in 1533, was the famous Lieutenant of the Tower, and the "jailor" of the Princess Elizabeth. Henry's wife was Katharine, daughter of Sir Roger Townshend, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and ancestor of the present Marquis Townshend. Sir Henry Bedingfeld kept up some state at Oxburgh, having twenty men-servants in livery, besides those employed in husbandry. When he was away on the Queen's business the management of his estate devolved on Dame Katharine, and a letter from this lady, addressed "To the right worshipful, my very good husband," and dated Oxburgh, October, 1554, is a *compte-rendu* of all she had done for his property during his absence. This document, which has had a chequered career, has lately, with some others, found its way back to the Oxburgh archives. Another, the draft of which has recently been discovered among the muniments of the venerable old house, strikes a more pathetic note, and testifies to the affectionate dependence with which Lady Bedingfeld leaned on her lord.

Lady Bedingfeld to the Lords of the Council, praying to have her husband with her during her confinement :—

MY LORDS,—Being very near the time of my being brought to bed, and Sir Henry Bedingfeld in the country, who is very tender in giving any offence to the Queen's Majesty, this is humbly to beg your Lordships will be pleased to confirm the order as he may have leave to be with me till the time of my approaching danger be over, and I shall acknowledge it as a very great favour done to your Lordship's most humble servant.

On the reverse side of this draft is a recipe for "Lime drinks against the King's evil or any sharp humours."

Although a man does not necessarily write himself down angel or devil, it is true of most people that their correspondence is a fair indication of their character, their tastes, and their habits. The letters written by and addressed to Sir Henry Bedingfeld reveal him as of the usual type of country gentleman of the period, interested in sport and agriculture, but having also some experience of soldiering. He could be counted on to raise a troop of horse or foot in an emergency, but always in the service of the lawful sovereign. He made it his business to become acquainted with the condition of Marshland in order to account to the Queen for the fealty of those around him ; and Elizabeth, no less than Mary, knew that she could rely on him to uphold her authority in the eastern counties. His letters to Mary show that, notwithstanding his frankness and his freedom from diplomatic subtlety, his manners did not lack the polish of the courtier. In the fulfilment of his charge he was ever prudent, cautious and almost timid in the matter of accepting responsibility ; in no sense covetous of office, he was yet so scrupulous in the discharge of duty that he scarcely ever acted on his own judgment if he could possibly wring instructions from the Privy Council. His strength of character stood him in lieu of brilliant parts, and his severity was at all times tempered by that quality of mercy which is not strained.

His life, after Mary's accession, falls naturally into three parts : (1) The period during which he had the care of the Princess Elizabeth. (2) His term of office as Lieutenant of the Tower. (3) The twenty-five years after Mary's death, which he spent, for the most part, in retirement in Norfolk.

On March 18, 1554, this portentous missive was delivered to him :—

My duty remembered, these shall be to advise you that on Friday my lady Elizabeth was sent to the Tower at 10 of the clock. The Parliament shall be holden at Westminster on the day aforesaid. And the Queen is in good health thanks be to God who preserve you in much worship. This Good Friday, riding by the way. Your servant to command, Thomas Waters. To the right worshipful Sir Henry Bedyngfeld give these, written in haste.

The causes of Elizabeth's arrest were far-reaching. Circumstantial evidence of her connection with Wyatt's rebellion was not wanting, and if Mary had been willing to have her sister convicted on that evidence alone her head would undoubtedly have fallen on the block. But her guilt could not otherwise be brought home, and in her first Parliament Mary had restored the ancient constitutional law of England, by which overt or spoken acts of treason must be proved before any English person could be convicted as a traitor.

The case against Elizabeth was this: The French Ambassador, de Noailles, whose instructions were that he should play upon the popular discontent in the interest of France, encouraged Elizabeth to associate herself with the factious, and to become, as it were, the stalking-horse of the disaffected. She never committed herself to any direct act of rebellion, but de Noailles was prodigal of her name in all the intrigues that he fostered, and the plot organized by means of Sir Peter Carew in Devonshire and Cornwall had for its declared object the marriage of Elizabeth to Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and the placing of these two on the throne. Sir Thomas Wyatt had meanwhile raised the standard of revolt in the home counties, but before leaving London for that purpose he had written a letter to Elizabeth urging her, for greater safety, to retire to her castle of Donnington. This letter fell into the hands of the Council, as did also three letters from de Noailles to the French King, directly implicating Elizabeth in the insurrection, and a copy of the letter which she had written to Mary, refusing on the plea of illness to obey the Queen's summons to the Court. Lord Russell confessed to having carried communications between the Princess and Wyatt, and that traitor, being brought to trial, owned that the object of his rising was to secure the Crown for Elizabeth and Courtenay. He subsequently repeated the statement, adding that the French King had promised them men and money, and was to attack Calais and Guisnes the moment the rebels were in possession of London. Whether he really withdrew this accusation of Elizabeth, on the scaffold, must always remain doubtful, the testimony of the sheriffs being in

direct contradiction to that of Lord Chandos, who was also present.

It was not until Wyatt had formally accused Elizabeth of conspiring with Henry II. of France, that Mary was convinced of the necessity of securing her person. She repeated her summons, but not as Foxe would have us believe with inconsiderate cruelty and rough haste. Elizabeth's uncle, Admiral Lord William Howard, Sir Edward Hastings, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, were sent to escort her from Ashridge to Westminster, with two physicians, who were to decide whether she were well enough to travel. She was treated with uniform courtesy and consideration, and the journey of thirty-three miles, originally intended to occupy five days, was actually made to cover a whole week. The Imperial Ambassador thus describes her arrival :*—

"The lady Elizabeth arrived here yesterday clad completely in white, surrounded by a great assemblage of servants of the Queen, besides her own people. She caused her litter to be uncovered, that she might show herself to the people. Her countenance was pale, her look proud, lofty, and superbly disdainful, an expression which she assumed to disguise the mortification she felt. The Queen declined seeing her, and caused her to be accommodated in a quarter of her palace from which neither she nor her servants could go out without passing through the guards. Of her suite, only two gentlemen, six ladies, and four servants are permitted to wait on her, the rest of her train being lodged in the city of London. The Queen is advised to send her to the Tower, since she is accused by Wyatt, named in the letters of the French Ambassador, suspected by her own councillors, and it is certain that the enterprise was undertaken in her favour.† "

When charged with complicity in the plot, she replied that she knew nothing of it. The members of the Council were divided concerning her, some maintaining that the legal proof against her was insufficient to justify her being

* *State Papers: Domestic*, 1554, vol. xxi. Ashridge, Feb. 11, Record Office.

† Record Office transcripts. Belgian Archives. Printed by Tytler in his *England under the Reigns of Edward VI. and Mary*.

sent to the Tower, others were for giving her short shrift. Mary availed herself of this loophole, and caused each Lord of the Council in succession to be asked to undertake the custody of the Princess in his own house. Not one was willing to accept the perilous office, and a warrant was therefore made out for her committal to the Tower. There was a very general impression that her life would have been in danger but for Mary's determination that the law should not be infringed at her trial; nothing could be adduced that was not already known; and in spite of the Emperor's reiterated demands for her execution, Mary would not have her convicted on the only evidence obtainable. It was for Elizabeth's greater safety that the Queen appointed Sir Henry Bedingfeld to be her custodian, and Foxe's absurd description of Bedingfeld's arrival with his hundred soldiers in blue-coats, and Elizabeth's terror at the sight, is manifestly a fabrication of the martyrologist's brain.

We have already seen something of Sir Henry's antecedent history. He had materially contributed to Mary's triumphant accession, he was a distinguished member of her Privy Council, therefore a public personage, and it is inconceivable that Elizabeth should have asked who he was, as being "a man unknown to her Grace," or that her attendants and friends should have answered that "they were ignorant what manner of man he was."

"About that time," romances Foxe, "it was spread abroad that her Grace should be carried from thence by this new jolly Captain and his soldiers; but whither it could not be learned, which was unto her a great grief, especially for that such a company was appointed to her guard, requesting rather to continue there still than to be led thence with such a sort of rascals. At last plain answer was made by the Lord Chandos, that there was no remedy, but from thence she must needs depart to the manor of Woodstock." He goes on to say that on May 19 she was removed from the Tower, "where Sir Henry Benifield (being appointed her jailor) did receive her with a company of rake-hells to guard her, besides the Lord Derby's band, wafting in the country about for the moonshine in the water. Unto whom at length came my Lord of Tame,

joined in commission with the said Sir Henry for the safeguarding of her to prison, and they together conveyed her Grace to Woodstock."

Very different is the tone of Sir Henry's account in which he details every incident of the journey from the Tower to Woodstock. Elizabeth apparently seized every opportunity of making his difficult task more difficult; but wayward and imperious as her temper often was, nothing in his demeanour towards her approached to disrespect or even impatience. Even she herself brought no other complaint against him that that of "scrupulousness" in the discharge of his duty. As for his soldiers, no single instance is recorded on either side of misbehaviour or want of decorum on their part. In his first letter to the Queen, after their arrival at Woodstock, Sir Henry says:

My lady Elizabeth's grace did use (? peruse) the letter which your Highness sent her, wherein she was right weary, to my judgment, the occasion rising of the stark style of the same letter, being warpen and cast. This present day she hath not been very well at ease, as your Highness's women did declare unto me, and yet at the afternoon she required to walk, and see another lodging in the house. In the which and other her like requests I am marvellously perplexed to grant her desire or to say nay, seeing it hath been your Highness's pleasure to remove her person from and out of the Tower of London, where I was led to do upon more certainty by the precedent of my good Lord Chamberlain [Sir John Gage] and also by certain articles by me exhibited unto my Lords of the Council and by them ordered, which were to me a perfect rule at that time, and now is very hard to be observed in this place. Wherefore I most lowly and heartily do desire your Highness to give me authority and order in writing from your Majesty or your Council how to demean myself in this your Highness's service, whereby I shall be the more able to do the same, and also receive comfort and heart's ease to be your Highness's daily beadsman to God for persuasion of your most princely and sovereign estate long to endure to God's honour. The 21. of May, 1554.*

* This and the next following letters are taken from the fourth volume of the publications of the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, *State Papers relating to the custody of the Princess Elizabeth at Woodstock in 1554*, being letters between Queen Mary and her Privy Council and Sir Henry Bedingfeld, Knight, of Oxburgh, Norfolk, communicated by the Rev. C. R. Manning, M.A., Hon. Sec. The originals were then in Mr. Manning's possession.

In answer to this letter, the Council wrote approving his doings, and thanking Sir Henry on the part of the Queen. A number of instructions for his further conduct were also sent, the purport of which will be gathered from his reply :

My letter answering to the former, the Council's letters.

So it is, most honourable lords, that upon the return of my brother Humphrey I received instructions signed with the Queen's Majesty's hand, and enclosed in a letter signed by your lordships as a warrant to direct my service how to be used during the Queen's Majesty's pleasure, trusting only in God to make me able to do and accomplish the same. I travail and shall do, to the best of my power, till God and her Highness shall otherwise dispose for me, wishing that shortly it should come to pass, if it may so stand with her highness's good contentation and your honour. As touching the fifth article, which purported this in effect, that I should not suffer my lady Elizabeth's grace to have conference with any suspect person out of my hearing, that she do not by any means either receive or send any message, letter or token to or from any manner of person, which, under your honourable corrections I must thus answer to, that as touching conference with suspected persons, if your lordships mean strangers, and such as be not daily attending upon her person by your assents and privities, with the help above said, I dare take upon me that to do. But if you mean general conference with all persons as well within her house as without, I shall beseech you of pardon, for that I dare not take upon me, nor yet for message, letter or token which may be conveyed by any of the three women of her privy chamber, her two grooms of the same, or the yeomen of the robes, all which persons and none others be with her grace at her going to her lodging, and part of them all night, and until such time as her grace cometh to her dining-chamber, the grooms always after going abroad within the house, having full opportunity to do such matter as is prohibited. And hereunto I beseech your honours ask my Lord Chamberlain whether it will be within possibility for me to do it or no, whose order in all things I have and do, according to my poor wit and endeavour put in use ; and upon his declaration, to direct order possible. At the present writing hereof, one Marbery, my lady grace's servant, brought his wife Elizabeth Marbery to have been received to have wait upon her Grace in the stead of Elizabeth Sands, and because I received no manner of warrant from you, my lords, to do it, I have required the said Marbery to stay himself and his

wife hereabouts, till I might receive the same, which I pray you to do with all speed, for they been very poor folks and unable to bear their own charge as I perceive.

Her Grace, thanks be to God, continueth in reasonable health and quietness, as far as I can perceive; but she claimeth promise of the mouth of my Lord Treasurer and Chamberlain to have the liberty of walk within the whole park of Woodstock. This she hath caused to come to mine ear by my Lady Gray, but never spoke of it to me by express words. . . . Her Grace hath not hitherto made any request to walk in any other place than in the over and nether gardens with the orchard, which if she happens to do, I must needs answer, I neither dare nor will assent unto it till by the Queen's Highness and your honours I be authorised that to do. . . . Cornwallis, the gentleman usher, did move me to assent that the cloth of estate should be hanged up for her Grace, whereunto I directly said nay till your lordships' pleasures were known therein.

Postscript.—There was some peril of fire within the house, which we have, without any loss to be regarded, escaped. Thanks be to God.

In answer to the above the Council thanked and commended Sir Henry for all that he had hitherto done, adding: "Where ye desire to be resolved of certain doubts which you gather upon your instructions, ye shall understand that although we well know ye cannot meet such inconvenience as may happen by those that attend upon the lady Elizabeth, in bringing unto her letters, messages or tokens, yet if ye shall use your diligence and wisdom there as ye shall see cause, it shall be your sufficient discharge. As for strangers, ye must foresee that no persons suspect have any conference with her at all, and yet to permit such strangers whom ye shall think honest and not suspicious, upon any reasonable cause to speak with her in your hearing only. As for placing of Elizabeth Marbery in lieu of Sands, letters be already sent from the Queen's Highness unto you therefore, which we pray you to see executed accordingly. Where she claimeth promise of the Lord Treasurer and me the Lord Chamberlain to walk in the park, as we have heard nothing before this time thereof, so do not I the Lord Chamberlain remember any such promise."

The Queen's letter was as follows:—

MARYE THE QUENE.

BY THE QUENE.

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. And where we be informed that Sands, one of the women presently attending about our sister, the Lady Elizabeth, is a person of an evil opinion, and not fit to remain about our said sister's person, we let you wit, our will and pleasure is, you shall travail with our said sister, and by the best means ye can, persuade her to be contented to have the said Sands removed from her, and to accept in her place Elizabeth Marbery, another of her women who shall be sent thither for that purpose: whom at her coming we require you to be placed there, and to give order that the said Sands may be removed from thence accordingly. Given under our signet at our manor of St. James, the 26th day of May, the first year of our reign.

It was soon found necessary to cancel the permission for strangers to have access to the captive Princess, and the Council accordingly wrote to Sir Henry: "And forasmuch as it appeareth hereby that such private persons as be disposed to disquiet will not let to take occasion if they may, to convey messages or letters in and out by some secret practice, her Majesty's further pleasure is, for the avoiding hereof that ye shall henceforth suffer no manner person other than such as are already appointed to be about the lady Elizabeth, to come unto her or have any manner talk or conference with her, any former instructions or letters heretofore sent you to the contrary notwithstanding."

Elizabeth made difficulties with regard to every detail of her custody, and the substitution of Elizabeth Marbery for Sands was not effected without a struggle; but on June 5, Sir Henry was able to report that, "The same was done this present day about 2 of the clock in the afternoon, not without great mourning both of my lady's Grace, and Sands. And she was conveyed into the town by my brother Edmund, and by him delivered to Mr. Parry, who at my desire yesternight did prepare horse and men to be ready to convey her either to Clerkenwell beside London to her uncle there, or else into Kent to her father, towards the which he promised she should go. This I do signify unto your lordships because I think her a woman meet to be looked unto for her obstinate disposition."

In another very long letter he certifies that the Princess has asked for an English Bible "of the smallest possible volume," desiring that he would send to her cofferer for one. But the cofferer replied that he had none at all, but sent a servant with three books, one of which was the Psalms of David and the Canticles. Leave was given for her to have the English Bible, and for her to write to the Queen as she desired.

On June 12 Sir Henry wrote to the Council a letter highly informative as to the difficulties of his position:—

Pleaseth it your honourable lordships to be advertised, that the same day I last wrote unto you, my lady Elizabeth's grace demanded of me whether I had provided her the book of the Bible in English of the smallest volume or no. I answered because there were divers Latin books in my hands ready to be delivered if it pleased her to have them, wherein as I thought, she should have more delight, seeing she understandeth the same so well, therefore I had not provided the same, which answer I perceived she took not in good part, and within half an hour after that, in her walking in the nether garden, in the most unpleasant sort that ever I saw her since her coming from the Tower, she called me to her again, and said in these words: "I have at divers times spoken to you to write to my lords of certain my requests, and you never make me answer to any of them. I think (quoth she) you make none of my lords privy to my suit, but only my Lord Chamberlain, who, although I know him to be a good gentleman, yet by age, and other his earnest business, I know he hath occasion to forget many things." To this I answered, that I did never write in her Grace's matter to any of you my lords privately, and said unto her Grace further, that I thought this was a time that your lordships had great business in,* and therefore her Grace could not look for direct answer upon the first suit. "Well," said she, "once again I require you to do thus much for me, to write unto my said lords, on my behalf to be means unto the Queen's Majesty to grant me leave to write unto her Highness with mine own hand, and in this I pray you let me have answer as soon as you can." To this I answered, I shall do for your Grace that I am able to do, which is to write to my said Lords, and then it must needs rest in their honourable considerations whether I shall have answer or no, since which time her Grace never spoke to me. Surely, I take it that the remembrance of Elizabeth

* On account of the Queen's marriage with Philip of Spain.

Sands' departing, and the only placing Marbery in her room, clearly against her late desire is some cause of her grief (grievance)."

The effect produced by Elizabeth's letter to the Queen may be gathered from the following reply written by Mary to Sir Henry :

MARYE THE QUENE.

BY THE QUENE.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where our pleasure was of late signified unto you for the lady Elizabeth to have licence to write unto us, we have now received her letters containing only certain arguments devised for her declaration, in such matters as she hath been charged withal by the voluntary confession of divers others. In which arguments she would seem to persuade us that the testimony of those who have opened matters against her either were not such as they be, or being such should have no credit. But as we were most sorry at the beginning to have any occasion of suspicion, so when it appeared unto us that the copies of her secret letters unto us were found in the packet of the French Ambassador, that divers of the most notable traitors made their chief account upon her, we can hardly be brought to think that they would have presumed to do so, except they had had more certain knowledge of her favour towards their unnatural conspiracy than is yet by her confessed. And therefore, though we have for our part, considering the matter brought to our knowledge against her, used more clemency and favours towards her than in the like matter hath been accustomed, yet cannot these fair words so much abuse us but we do well understand how things have been wrought. Conspiracies be secretly practised, and things of that nature be many times judged by probable conjectures and other suspicions and arguments, where the plain, direct proof may chance to fail, even as wise Solomon judged who was the true mother of the child by the woman's behaviour and words, when other proof failed and could not be had. By the argument and circumstances of her said letter with other articles declared on your behalf by your brother to our Privy Council, it may well appear her meaning and purpose to be far otherwise than her letters purported. Wherefore our pleasure is not to be hereafter any more molested with such her disguise and colourable letters, but wish for her that it may please our Lord to grant her His grace to be towards Him as she ought to be, then shall she the sooner be towards us as becometh her. This much have we thought good to write unto you, to the intent ye might

understand the effect of those letters, and so continue your accustomed diligence in the charge by us committed to you. Given under our signet at the Castle of Farnham, the 25th day of June, the first year of our reign.

The gist of this letter was communicated to Elizabeth by Sir Henry in the manner he himself describes :

Yesterday I went to hear Mass in her Grace's chamber ; that being ended, in the time of doing my duty, thinking to have departed from her Grace, she called me, and asked whether I had heard of any answer that was or should be made by the Queen's Majesty to her late letters. Upon which occasion, fitly as I took it, I made her Grace answer that I had to declare unto her an answer on the Queen's Majesty's behalf, whensoever she should command me. "Let it be even now," said her Grace. If you will, I answered. Because I was fearful to mis-report, therefore I have scribbled it as well as I can with mine own hand, and if you will give me leave to fetch it. And being ready to go in to her Grace with it I received word from her Grace by one of the Queen's Majesty's women to stay till her Grace had dined, and then she would hear it. Within a mean pause after dinner she sent for me, and having Mr. Tomiou in my company, who going with me into the outer chamber, there staying, I went into her Grace, and required her if it so stood with her pleasure that she might hear the doing of the message. She granted it, and I called him in, and kneeling by with me, I read unto her Grace my message according to the effect of the Queen's Majesty's letter. After once hearing of it she uttered certain words, bewailing her own chance in that her Grace's letter, contrary to her expectations, took no better effect, and desired to hear it once again, which I did. And then her Grace said : "I note especially to my great discomfort (which I shall, nevertheless, willingly obey) that the Queen's Majesty is not pleased that I should molest her Highness with any more of my colourable letters, which, although they be termed colourable, yet not offending the Queen's Majesty, I must say for myself that it was the plain truth, even as I desire to be saved afore God Almighty, and so let it pass. Yet, Mr. Bedyngfeld, if you think you may do so much for me I would have you to receive an answer which I would make unto you touching your message, which I would, at the least way, my Lords of the Council might understand, and that ye would conceive it upon my words, and put it in writing and let me hear it again. And if it be according to my meaning, so to pass it to my lordships for my better comfort in this mine adversity." To this I answered her Grace : I pray you hold me excused

that I do not grant your request in the same. Then she said : " It is like that I shall be offered more than ever any prisoner was in the Tower, for the prisoners be suffered to open their mind to the Lieutenant, and he to declare the same unto the Council, and you refuse to do the like." To this I answered her Grace that there was a diversity where the Lieutenant did hear a prisoner declare matters touching his case, and should thereof give notice unto the Council and where the prisoner should, as it were, command the Lieutenant to do his message to the Council. Therefore I desired that her Grace would give me leave with patience not to agree to her desire herein, and so departed from her Grace.

Yesterday morning again, about x of the clock, in the time of her walk, she called me to her in the little garden, and said : " I remember yesterday ye refused utterly to write on my behalf unto my Lords of the Council, and therefore if you continue in that mind still, I shall be in worse case than the worst prisoner in Newgate, for they be never gainsaid in the time of their imprisonment by one friend or other to have their cause opened or sued for, and this is and shall be such a conclusion unto me, that I must needs continue this life without all hope worldly, wholly resting to the truth of my cause, and that before God to be opened, arming myself against whatsoever shall happen, to remain the Queen's true subject as I have done during my life. It waxeth wet, and therefore I will depart to my lodging again " ; and so she did. Thus much concerning her Grace I thought it my duty to give your lordships advertisement of, to be considered as it shall please your honours, clearly omitting any part of the message and such which my lady's grace would have had me to have taken upon me, and shall so do, unless I have the Queen's Majesty's warrant for the same.

This report had the desired effect, and the next letter from the Council gave Sir Henry leave " to write those things that she shall desire you, and to signify the same to us of her Majesty's Council, sending your letters touching that matter enclosed in some paper directed to her Highness, so as she may herself have the first sight thereof."

Mary's next letter was personal to Sir Henry himself :

Trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and where we understand that by occasion of certain our instructions lately given unto you, ye do continually make

your personal abode within that our house at Woodstock, without removing from thence at any time, which thing might peradventure in continuance be both some danger to your health, and be occasion also that ye shall not be so well able to understand the state of the country thereabouts as otherwise ye might, we let you wit that in consideration thereof we are pleased ye may, at any time when yourself shall think convenient, make your repair from out of our said house, leaving one of your brethren to look to your charge and see to the good governance of that house in your absence, so as nevertheless ye return back again yourself at night, for the better looking to your said charge. And for your better ease and recreation we are in like manner pleased that ye and your brethren may at your liberties hawk for your pastime at the partridge, or hunt the hare within that our manor of Woodstock, or any of our grounds adjoining to the same, from time to time when ye shall think most convenient ; and that also ye may if ye shall so think good, cause your wife to be sent for, and to remain there with you as long as yourself shall think meet. Given under our signet at our Castle of Farnham ye 7th of July, ye second year of our reign.

Brimful of interest as are these letters, space forbids our giving in detail the story of Elizabeth's "suit," told by the pen of her "jailor," or the letter in which he describes her characteristic impatience at the "very slow speed" of the anxiously desired answer. Nor may we dwell here on the facility with which, in spite of Sir Henry's "scrupulousness," the Princess, by means of Parry, her cofferer, communicated with the outside world. Bolts and bars were ineffectual so long as those who surrounded her were willing intermediaries between her and the enemies of the Queen, and Sir Henry knew it well. He was longing to be rid of his charge, as his letter to Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, proves :

After my hearty commendations to your good lordship, so it is that as you do know I have continued this service by the space of fifteen weeks, in care of mind and some travail of body which I would be glad to make suit to be relieved of, if I might know it should be taken in good part. And having no friend whom I believe myself to be so assured of as your lordship, even thereupon I am bold by these heartily to desire your travail in my behalf (if it so stand with your good opinion) to the Queen's Majesty, to grant me my

discharge from the same. Wherein I trust my Lord Chancellor* will join with you, if it content you to move him thereunto, who by words of marvellous effect comprising both the Queen's commandment that I should enter into it, and his earnest request at that time also did cause me to take in hand the same. And lest my said Lord should forget, I pray you put him in remembrance that he had this talk with me upon the causeway betwixt the house of Saint James and Charing Cross. And what it shall content you to do for me herein, I shall desire you to be ascertained by your letters, upon the return of the messenger. I made late a suit to you for your house at Blackfriars, and received answer that you had otherwise disposed the same, yet remembering that you had an house of my Lord of Bath in Holborn, which, as the case now standeth, I think your Lordship will have little pleasure to use, and if by your good mean I might obtain the same at my Lord of Bath's hands, you should do unto me a great good turn, which have no house of refuge in London but the common Inn, and would be glad to give large money to be avoided of that inconvenience. And thus remaining at the Queen's Majesty's house of Woodstock (out of which I was never by the space of six hours sith my coming into the same), I leave to trouble your Lordship with this my rude writing.

At the house aforesaid, the 16th day of August, 1554.

Nothing came of the attempt to get himself dismissed, and the unequal contest between his "scrupulousness" and Elizabeth's astute, unfathomable diplomacy was still to be waged for many months. "May it please your Highness to be advertised," he wrote to the Queen on the 4th of October, "that this great lady, upon whose person ye have commanded mine attendance, is and hath been in quiet state for the health of her body this month or six weeks, and of her mind declareth nothing outwardly by word or deed that I can come to the knowledge of, but all tending to the hope she saith she hath of your clemency and mercy towards her. Marry, against my lords of your most honourable Council, I have heard her speak words that declare that she hath conceived great unkindness in them, if her meaning go with her words, whereof God only is judge."

* Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

His task grew daily more complicated, and the following letter is a key to the situation :

My humble duty remembered unto your honourable lordships, these shall be to advertise the same that this present 21st day of October my lady Elizabeth's grace commanded me to prepare things necessary for her to write unto your lordships, whereupon I took occasion to declare unto her Grace that the express words of your honourable letters, dated at Hampton Court the 15th of September, did not bear that the Queen's Majesty was pleased that her Grace upon any occasion from time to time moving, and as often as it pleased her might write unto you. And therefore I prayed her Grace to stay her determination therein until I might signify this my doubt unto your lordships, and receive your full and plain determination therein, for my discharge ; which my suit she took in so ill-part, that her Grace of displeasure therein did utter with more words of reproach of this my service about her, by the Queen's commandment than ever I heard her speak afore : too long to write. At afternoon, her Grace sent for me by Mrs. Pomeyow, and then, in a more quieter sort, required me to write unto your honours, and thereby to desire the same to be means for her unto the Queen's Highness to grant that Drs. Wendy, Owen, and Huick, or two of them, may be licensed with convenient speed to repair hither, for to minister unto her physic, bringing of their own choice one expert surgeon to let her Grace's blood if the said doctors or two of them shall think it so good, upon the view of her suit at their coming. . . . Most heartily desiring your honours to return with the same your absolute opinions to the first matter, which shall be done accordingly with our Lord's leave and help, to understand your pleasures and commandments aright, which this great lady saith, may have good meaning in me, but it lacketh knowledge, experience, and all other accidents in such a service requisite, which I must needs confess. The help only hereof resteth in God and the Queen's Majesty, with your honourable advice, from whence to receive the discharge of this my service, without offence to the Queen's Majesty or you my good lords, were the joyfulest tidings that ever came to me, as our Lord Almighty knoweth, to whom no secrets be hidden.

The physicians were sent, and Elizabeth was "let blood," Sir Henry testifying that "by her own commandment" he saw it done "by the bleeding of her arm"; and some hours later he "saw her foot stricken and bled, since which time,

thanks be to God, as far as I see or hear, she doeth reasonably well as that case requireth."

Some months later "the joyfullest tidings that ever came" to him was conveyed in a letter from the Queen. It was the herald of his longed-for "discharge":

MARYE THE QUENE.

BY THE QUENE.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And forasmuch as we have resolved to have the lady Elizabeth to repair nearer unto us, we do therefore pray and require you to declare unto her that our pleasure is she shall come to us to Hampton Court, in your company, with as much speed as you can have things in order for that purpose; wherein you shall not need to make any delay for calling of any other numbers than these, which be yourself and those now there attendant upon her. And of the time of your setting forwards from thence, and by what day you shall think you may be there, we require you to advertise us by your letters with speed. Given under our signet at our honour of Hampton Court, the 17th of April, the 1st and 2nd of our reign.

On their arrival at Court, Sir Henry Bedingsfeld was relieved, Sir Thomas Pope being appointed to replace him. Elizabeth was soon afterwards allowed to retire to Hatfield, where she remained under supervision till her accession. In the meanwhile, in October, 1555, her "jailor" was appointed Lieutenant of the Tower, and the following, hitherto unpublished, selection of letters* not only afford a further insight into his character, but at the same time show in what manner the State prisoners in the Tower were treated by the Queen, the Council, and the Lieutenant.

The two first letters relate to Sir John Cheke, formerly tutor to Edward VI., who, together with Sir Peter Carew, had been arrested in Flanders and brought to the Tower for implication in Wyatt's rebellion. Carew was released on October 19, 1555.

SIR ROBERT ROCHESTER TO SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

Mr. Lieutenant, my Lord Cardinal his Grace,† being gone to Lambeth of express purpose, there to have before him Mr. Cheke, hath required me to write unto you, and to

* From the family archives at Oxburgh. † Cardinal Pole.

require you that the said Mr. Cheke may be sent unto him unto Lambeth, in the company and with the Dean of Paul's. Wherefore I pray you take order with the said Dean so as he may convey him thither accordingly. The meaning is that no officer of the Tower should be troubled with his conveyance thither, but only the Dean to be charged by you with his person, to bring to my Lord Cardinal's presence, and he to bring him again when it shall please my said Lord to command him, who hath the whole order and disposition of this case. This must be done when Mr. Dean he cometh to you for the man. And so bids you most heartily well to fare, from the Court this present morning, your assured friend,

R. ROCHESTER.

SIR JOHN FECKENHAM, PRIEST,* TO SIR JOHN CHEKE.

Gentle Mr. Cheke,—It was this day somewhat past 10 of the clock before I could have any determinate answer of your coming unto the Court, which is now appointed to be at 2 of the clock in the afternoon. I shall send two of my servants to wait upon you from the Tower unto my house, at 1 of the clock, and from thence I will go with you unto the Court myself. I do think that Mr. Lieutenant is already put to knowledge thereof, but if it be forgotten give unto him this my letter, and he will not stay you. Your submission is very well liked, and the Queen's Highness hath seen the same, with which her Majesty has found no fault, but only that you had forgotten to make mention in the latter end thereof of the King's Majesty. And therefore you must write it all whole again, and in the latter end add these words which I have added touching the King's Majesty, or else everything is as it was in your own copy, save that I added in one place the real presence of Christ's Body and Blood. I pray you leave not out these words, and at your coming I shall hear your cause, where, notwithstanding your few lines which is wrote unto me thereof, be you of good comfort; all things are well and imagined best for your furtherance. You have more friends than you be ware of. Thus fare you well, this present 5 of Sep., 1556, by your assured friend,

JOHN FECKNAM, Priest.

I pray you fail not to write it all again, and that as large and plain as you can, for I am commanded to request you that you duly so do.

Dr. Cheke having proved his innocence of conspiracy to the satisfaction of the Council, and having recanted his

* Abbot of Westminster, who was appointed to examine him in matters of religion.

heresy, was released, and "through the efficacy of his language" about thirty others followed his example and saved their lives. He died the next year, some said of remorse for what he had done against the reformed religion.

Edward Lewkner, who, according to Machyn's Diary, had been "groom-porter" to Edward VI. and Mary, "was cast to suffer death" in the third year of Mary's reign for participation in the Dudley conspiracy. While in the Tower he fell so grievously ill as to excite the Lieutenant's compassion, and Sir Henry appears to have interceded with the Queen in his behalf.

To the Right Worshipful SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD, Knight,
Lieutenant of the Queen's Highness's Tower of London.
FRANCIS MALET, Priest.

Right Worshipful,—After my hearty commendations, these shall be to certify your Mastership that where your charity was declared in that it pleased you to take pains to declare by your wise and discreet letters the piteous state of Lewkner, your prisoner, I was thereby the more ready and yet not wanting the counsel of a counsellor to move the Queen's goodness in the matter. And her Grace being content to take into her hands your letter, and going with it into her privy chamber, said she would consider the matter, and that I should learn what her Grace's resolute mind will be therein. And therefore to tarry this messenger any longer at this time I thought but folly, for that I shall be ready sooner at night, if it please her Highness to understand what answer she will make to my suit; or if it will not be known this night as I doubt, for her Grace is as it were ever defatigate with her late business in dispatching the King of Bohemia's ambassadors, I shall know as soon as I may what her Grace's determination shall be; and that known I shall with all expedition intimate the same unto you, that so the poor man may be certified of her Grace's pleasure. And in the meantime I shall most heartily beseech your Mastership to continue your favour towards the man; and divers of those that be most nigh unto her Grace's person desire the same at your hands, and saith plainly that the Queen's grace will not be discontent that he have all the commodity that may be showed him for the recovery of his health within the Tower. I pray God show His will mercifully upon him, and I trust the Queen's goodness shall be extended withal unto him to his great comfort, as knoweth Almighty Jesus, who send you with much worship long to live and well to live in both soul and

body. Scribbled in haste with the running hand of yours to command,

FRANCIS MALET, Priest.

The above letter is undated, but the sequel to the story is related by the Lieutenant himself in the minutes of a letter to the Council :

Please it your Grace and my Lords to be advertised that this present Sunday, the 6th September, Edward Lewkner, prisoner, attainted by long sickness, departed this transitory life to God, about the hour of eight of the clock of the night. Who was a willing man in the forenoon of this day to have received the blessed Sacrament, but the priest that did serve in the absence of the . . . * did think him so well that it was meet to be ministered to him but after he had heard his confession. He did minister unto him the Sacrament of oiling, or Extreme Unction, at the which I was present. To-morrow I intend, by God's grace, to see him buried in form appertaining to his condition in life, as I have learned of those that have seen the like order. Instead of a will he charged me with his service to the Queen's Majesty, that it might please her Highness, after forgiveness of his offences towards the same, to vouchsafe to have pity of his wife and ten poor children, which I promised to do upon my next waiting upon her Majesty, humbly beseeching your Lordships all in time most meet to be good lords to the same his petition. And so as your poor beadsman I take my leave of you. From the Queen's Majesty's Tower of London, 1556, the night aforesaid, about 11 of the clock.

HENRY BEDYNGFELD.

Many other letters among this collection give evidence of the kindness and pity bestowed on the poor prisoners in the Tower, and the consideration with which their friends were treated, these being admitted to see them whenever it was practicable. We regret that limitations of space forbid their being given here. For the same reason little can be said of Sir Henry's friendships. His relations with nearly all the members of the Privy Council were intimate and cordial, but perhaps his closest friend was Sir Henry Jerningham, who was not only a colleague but the chosen companion of the rare occasions that were devoted to recreation and pleasure. Their two families had always

* Illegible in the manuscript.

been on terms of affectionate intimacy, although it was not until two generations later that they became allied by marriage, when Thomas Bedingfeld, of Oxburgh, Sir Henry's grandson, married Frances, daughter and co-heir of John Jerningham, of Somerleyton. On February 16, 1557, Sir Henry Jerningham having occasion to write to the Lieutenant of the Tower on business, ended his letter thus: "I do and will labour all that I can to have your company into Norfolk this Lent, to course the hare and hawk the heron. And thus I commit you to God, praying him to send us our prosperity. Your assured friend, HENRY JERNINGHAM."

During the years 1553, 1554, and 1557 Sir Henry Bedingfeld sat in Parliament as one of the knights of the shire for Norfolk. In 1557 he succeeded Sir Henry Jerningham as Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard, at which time he was also made vice-Chamberlain. But Queen Mary's death in 1558 closed his public career, and he retired to Oxburgh, which, hemmed in on one side by miles of fen country, was in those days for all practical purposes entirely cut off from the world. It would not have been surprising if he had fallen more or less into disgrace, the time having come when Elizabeth might have made him feel the effects of his "scrupulousness." The following letter from the Queen shows, however, that such was not then the case:

To our trusty and well-beloved SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD, Knight.

ELIZABETH R.

BY THE QUEEN.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Like as we doubt not but by the common report of the world it appeareth what great demonstrations of hostility the French make towards this realm by transporting great powers into Scotland, upon the pretence only of their going about the conquest of the same, so have we thought meet upon more certainty known to us of their purpose, to have good regard thereto in time. And being very jealous of our town of Berwick, the principal key of all our realm, we have determined to send with speed succours both thitherward and to our frontier, as well horsemen as footmen, and do also send our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin, the Duke of Norfolk, to be our Lieutenant-General of all the North from

Trent forward. For which purpose we have addressed our letters to sundry our nobility and gentlemen in like manner as we do this unto you, willing and requiring you as you tender and respect the honour of us and surety of your country, to put in readiness with all speed possible one able man, furnished with a good strong horse or gelding, and armed with a corselet, and to send the same to Newcastle by such day and with such further order for the furniture as shall be appointed to you by our trusty and well-beloved Sir Edward Wyndham, Knight, and Sir Christopher Heydon, Knight, whom we have advertised of our further pleasure in that behalf. And at the arriving of the said horseman at Newcastle he shall not only receive money for his route and conduct, but also beside his wage shall be by the discretion of our said cousin of Norfolk so used and entreated as ye shall not need to doubt of the safe return of the same if the casualty of death be not impeached. And herein we make such sure account of your forwardness as we thereupon have signified among others to our said cousin this our appointment and commandment. So shall we make account of you in that behalf whereof we pray you fail not. Given under our signet at our Palace of Westminster, the 25th day of September, in the second year of our reign.*

It was in consideration of services rendered at this time that Elizabeth granted to Sir Henry Bedingfeld and to his heirs for ever the manor of Caldecot in Norfolk "with the impropriation thereof."

An undated manuscript preserved at Oxburgh, a plan of an itinerary for the Queen's progress into Norfolk, would seem to support the tradition that Elizabeth visited that place. Immediately after Walsingham, then belonging to the Sidneys, occurs the sentence: "Thence to Oxburgh, Sir Henry Bedingfeld's."†

This document is printed in Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*, and the date assigned to it is 1578, presumably because this was the only time at which Elizabeth visited Norfolk. There are, however, no details of her stay at Oxburgh, and Dr. Jessopp, considering that the place was

* The original letter is at Oxburgh.

† The Queen's Room, a large apartment above that in which Henry VII. undoubtedly slept, may, it appears to the present writer, have been occupied by Elizabeth of York, wife of Henry VII., who, it is well known, accompanied him at least once on a pilgrimage to Walsingham. As she also was Queen Elizabeth, this may account for the tradition.

quite out of the line of progress, is of the opinion that she never went there at all.*

But there are other and more weighty reasons than those of distance for arriving at this conclusion. From the year 1569, when the foremost Catholics in England attempted to liberate Mary Queen of Scots, the penal laws against Papists were redoubled in severity, and those who still clung to the old religion fell into disfavour. Elizabeth did, indeed, visit Euston Hall, near Thetford, in 1578, and Mr. Rookwood presumed to kiss her hand. But the Lord Chamberlain severely reprimanded him for so doing, sternly bade him stand aside, and charged him with being a recusant unfit to be in the presence, much less to touch the sacred person, of his sovereign. He was required to attend the Council under surveillance, and when he reached Norwich in the Queen's train was committed to jail. Two of the Lovells, Humphrey Bedingfeld, of Quidenham, Sir Henry's brother, one Parry, and two others "not worth memory for badness of belyffe," were confined in Norwich Castle "for obstinate papystrie."† Moreover, among the Acts of the Privy Council for 1578 it is stated that :

This day (August 24) there appeared before their lordships, as warned by the Sheriff of Norfolk, amongst persons refusing to come to the church within that county, Sir Henry Bedingfeld, Knight, and Edmund Wyndham, Doctor of the Civil Law, who, standing in their obstinacy in refusing to come to the church in time of prayer, sermons, and other divine service, were ordered as others of the same sort before at Norwich : Sir Henry Bedingfeld to be bound in £500, and Mr. Wyndham in £200, with the like conditions as they that were bound to remain in their lodgings at Norwich, as by their obligations remaining in the Council Chest it may appear. And for that their lordships were informed that divers of the household servants of Sir Henry Bedingfeld did and do refuse likewise to come to the church, it was ordered that the Lord Bishop of Norwich or some person appointed by him should visit his household, and so many of his said servants as should refuse to conform themselves to come to the church should be discharged by the said Bishop or his visitors in that case from his service.

* Jessopp, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 61.

† Mason's *History of Norfolk*, p. 150.

The Council then wrote to two justices of the peace in Norfolk ordering them to discharge Sir Henry's servants "that will not come to church as is abovesaid, and that they be not maintained by the said Sir Henry Bedingfeld nor any other of their friends with any exhibition or otherwise, wheresoever they shall bestow themselves, nor that there be not any other servants admitted to serve Sir Henry Bedingfeld in any place or office about him that shall be suspected to be of that disposition in religion."

On receiving an order to present himself before the Privy Council, Sir Henry, although suffering from illness, set out for London. The following letter from five of the members met him on the road :

To our loving friend SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD, Knight.

After our hearty commendations. Whereas we are given to understand that upon some letters heretofore written, you are on the way repairing hither, forasmuch as we are informed by your son-in-law, Henry Seckford, that your sickness and infirmity is such as without danger you may not travel, we are very well contented if you shall not like to repair up, that you return again to the place where you were committed, there to remain until such time as further order shall be taken with you. And so fare you well. From Richmond, the 1st Dec., 1578.

This relief was further extended to him, as appears by another letter from the Council, allowing him to remain in his house till Lady-day, when he was to appear and answer to the charge of papistry, "unless in the meantime God shall turn his heart otherwise."

Slight as were the penalties inflicted on him, compared with those which his brothers were called upon to endure, troubles were not wanting to him in his old age. He was not only a prisoner within five miles of his own house, subject to heavy fines for the privilege of absenting himself from the new form of service, but he was liable at any time to have his house searched for priests and church-stuff, to have his household dismissed, and to be called on to endure religious "conferences." He was, moreover, in feeble health, and to complete his misfortunes, his devoted wife was taken from him. On this occasion a letter, signed by eight members of the Privy Council, was written to him :

To our loving friend SIR HENRY BEDINGFELD.

We commend us unto you. Whereas about three years past, when you were sent for to have appeared before us touching your disobedience in Religion, we were then moved, in consideration of your sickness and infirmity, and the humble suit of Henry Seckford, your son, you being then in the way hitherward, to licence you to return back unto your own house, whither you were before committed, there to remain until further order should be taken with you. And whereas at this time your son has made like humble suit unto us that you may be suffered to remove from your said house unto St. Mary's, Wignollen, in Marshland, a house of your daughter Seckford, there to remain for a season until you may pass over the grief and remembrance of the lady your wife, lately deceased, these are in that respect to give you licence so to do. And therefore you may at your liking remove to that place, continuing yourself in like degree of restraint as you did in your own house, and these shall be your warrant in that behalf. So fare you well. From the Court at Whitehall, 28 of Dec., 1581. Your loving friends.*

Sir Henry Bedingfeld succumbed to his infirmities in 1583, and was buried in the Bedingfeld Chapel in Oxburgh Church, where an elaborate monument to his memory may still be seen. It is to be regretted that the loss of the Privy Council Registers for the year 1583 entails also the loss of any mention of the last days of this celebrated Englishman.

J. M. STONE.

* The persecution endured by the subject of this paper was in no way personal to himself, but was altogether the result of his fidelity to his faith. Exactly the same treatment was meted out to his descendant, Sir Henry Arundell Bedingfeld, in 1713. The following instance affords also a proof of the extraordinary persistency with which the penal laws against Catholics were enforced 110 years after Elizabeth's death:—

"Licence from the Justices, August 10, 1713, for Sir Henry Bedingfeld to go from home for a month.—Whereas Sir Henry Bedingfeld of Oxburgh, Bart., being a recusant and confined to the usual place of his abode, or within the compass of five miles from the same, and whereas it has been represented to us on the part of the said Sir Henry Bedingfeld that he has very necessary and urgent business, which does require his attention at this time, and whereas the said Sir Henry Bedingfeld has made an oath before us of the truth of the same, and that he will not make any causeless stay from his said place of habitation, we therefore, four of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said county, upon examination taken by us as of the premisses, do give this our licence to the said Sir Henry Bedingfeld to travel out of the precincts or compass of five miles from the place of his abode limited by the statute at all times, from the 13 of this instant August, until the thirteenth of September following, by which time he is to return again to his place of abode at the parish of Oxburgh aforesaid. Given under our hand and seal this 10th of August, 1713."—Signed in the margin, *E. Bacon, T. de Grey, Tho. Wright, Nath. Life, H. Partridge, Dep.-Lieut.* I do assent to this licence.

ART. III.—THE FIRST SIX CENTURIES AND THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE clergy of the Church of England are again about to appeal to antiquity as a standard of Faith. According to the principal leader in the movement, the appeal is to result in bringing out in moderately clear lines what is that true Catholicism which the members of the Established Church may expect to find both taught and practised in the community to which they belong. The true and the ancient is to be once more easily recognisable, while the false and the new, which, so it is asserted, is only some form of "Romish corruption" to which a "spurious glamour of Catholicity" has been imparted, is to stand out revealed with all its errors thick upon it. Once detected by having the touchstone of antiquity applied to it, this spurious Catholicity, the offspring of those superstitious times, the Middle Ages, will be more easily banished from the precincts of Anglicanism where it appears, for some reason or other, lately to have taken up its residence.

The new movement is being regarded as of so great importance that even the *Times* has felt called upon to devote a leading article to the consideration of its aims and chances of success. There we are told that Dr. Wace, the Dean of Canterbury, has arrived at a consensus of Evangelical, of Central, and of High Churchmen that the first six centuries constitute a fair canon of what is Catholic and ancient; that this period is to bear witness to the true Catholicism which, it is conceived, is really that of the Church of England; and that Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury under Queen Elizabeth, is to be regarded as expressing their view in his assertion, that the sentence of any one

Catholic Doctor of those early times would be sufficient for obtaining the assent of his mind as to its truth. The Dean of Canterbury also gives it as his opinion that, from Jewel's day down to the present, antiquity, confined within the limits laid down by that Bishop and the rest of the English Reformers, is part of a constitutional settlement to which each Anglican has a right to appeal.

Very little profit would ensue were we to speculate as to the results of so laudable a resolution as that of making the belief and the practice of the early ages of Christianity a common ground of agreement in the Anglican Communion. The resolution has so frequently been made and as frequently come to nothing. Ever since the Reformation that Communion has, from time to time, asserted its claim to being ancient and, in some sort, Catholic; and ever since the Reformation that claim has assumed the nature of an ornamental device only, sometimes cherished and sometimes rather in the way, like the claim to the kingdom of France and the use of its regal titles which the English kings have only at a comparatively recent date relinquished. It will be cheerfully admitted that a fair number of Anglican divines have been most assiduous students of primitive Christianity, becoming even authorities of the very first rank in that branch of learning; but it is equally a fact that those divines have treated the Fathers in much the same manner as others have treated the Bible. They had already made up their minds before they set to work. They found in the pages of antiquity that alone which they wanted to find there. They have either been blind to the very features which mark the entire religious spirit of the days they were examining, or they have dismissed them unceremoniously, bearing the very convenient label of "Romish Superstitions." It is doubtful if any one of them, after reading the records of those remote times, has been influenced to believe and to practise any of the peculiar doctrines and religious observances which must have been noticed there; and it is certain that, after all their labours, they have left the Church to which they belonged as little like to antiquity as they found it.

More than three centuries ago the Church of England, in

the most emphatic manner and by the adoption of the most drastic measures, showed clearly enough for all who have eyes to see, what was its belief, or want of belief, on certain very important religious questions and practices. It did more than speak—it acted. Its ministers and its laity “put down” the Mass, belief in the Real Presence, devotion to the Blessed Virgin, prayers to the Saints, prayers for the dead, to mention only those matters which spring up at once in the mind of both Catholic and Protestant when the word “Reformation” is uttered. It simplified—“purified”—things. It swept away everything which most people will ever regard as constituting the warmth, colour, charm, and harmony of public worship, and left, to be performed in a bare and very cheerless building, that which some of us can still remember as the dreariest of services. It has never retracted what it did then. Up to within very recent times each one of its ministers has eagerly grasped the opportunity of identifying himself with the Reformers as far as he has been able; and the laity, almost to a man, have been anxious to make it clear that, given the occasion, they are ready to co-operate in once more getting rid of the beliefs and the practices their fathers found so objectionable. They who first made the changes were loud in their cry that Primitive Christianity is responsible for what they did. That was their guiding star. The “purity of the Early Ages” was a phrase continually upon their lips. And from their day down to the present the National Church has persistently raised the same cry, asserting always that that purity and simplicity exist untarnished and without corruption within her borders alone.

The literature of the first six centuries presents to us the religion of the times so clearly and with such detail that of no other age, in its spiritual aspect, may we be said to know so much. The great bulk of that literature is of a religious nature, and from the middle of the fourth century onward even profane authors direct their attention, to a large extent, to the consideration of ecclesiastical matters. Liturgies, conciliar acts, contemporaneous histories, biographies, public utterances, letters, poetry, have come

down to us in abundance, bearing information, sometimes direct and sometimes indirect, on early Christianity ; so that we may look upon it not only in the abstract, but also as a thing living in the lives and moving in the thoughts of the clergy and people. Religious questions formed the one subject of the times. Sermons were taken down by eager listeners in the churches, to be discussed outside and at home. Hymns were sung by men at their work and by women at the spinning wheel. Processions, with singing and accompanied by crosses and torches, were to be met with in the streets, even early in the morning. The deliberations of a conference on doctrine would be awaited with impatience by the populace, and the occupant of the throne would fill up his leisure moments in writing letters on Church matters, or in composing a treatise on the right faith.*

In the perusal of this literature we find ourselves surrounded by an atmosphere—in the presence of a universal and settled state of mind, and of a course of actions natural and spontaneous—the examination of which is fascinating to a degree, but very strange and puzzling to one who has no other conception of Christianity excepting that formed by Anglicanism. The divine Founder of Christianity occupies a position in the belief and practice of the people unique and altogether different from that held by any other person or thing ; but He does not stand alone there.† Heaven does not consist in Him only, as Protestant-

* Sozomen speaks of the processions and hymns introduced by St. Chrysostom into the Church of Constantinople (Book viii., chap. 8) ; and the same historian describes how the followers of Apollinaris sang hymns at work and at home (Book vi., chap. 26). St. Gregory Nazianzen mentions the taking down of his sermons while in the act of preaching (Or. 32).

In the works of St. Augustine there is a curious edict issued by the Notary Marcellinus making arrangements by which the public may receive the minutes of the debate with the Donatists while it is still in progress.

The letters of Constantine on the Arian Controversy are well known ; while Justinian caused no little confusion in his day through writing on theological subjects.

† No one doubts the deep and intense affection, reverence, and awe which the early Christians felt for our Lord ; nevertheless, in view of the many things, strange to the non-Catholic mind, to be met with in the pages of antiquity, it is well to emphasise the fact. To these ages in particular we may apply the lines which the historian has applied to Christianity in general : "There have ever existed in Christianity those who would echo the wish of St. Theresa that she could blot out both Heaven and Hell to

ism has imagined and taught that it does. Devotion has not exhausted its objects as soon as He has been addressed, or His infinite love considered. We find among these early Christians a very great interest in the Angels and Saints. They are regarded as important personages in the Heavenly Court, where issues involving an eternity of joy or pain are being decided by Christ the King. They are the ministers of His will and the dispensers of His favours. St. Clement of Alexandria asserts that, by means of the angels, knowledge is given to man; that they watch over and protect cities; that they are, in some manner, even called by the name of gods, and that, by this name, are those souls called who have attained to the beatific vision and see God face to face.* In a passage, much disputed by Anglican divines, but, really, very simple to the unbiassed reader, St. Justin, in refuting the common charge of Atheism made against the Christians of his day, mentions the angels as among the objects to which a deep devotion was rendered.† In a well-known passage, St. Jerome does not hesitate to make a distinction between the apostles and ordinary persons by giving them the title of gods.‡ St. Cyril, of Jerusalem, explained to his Catechumens that the reason of placing the patriarchs, prophets,

serve God for Himself alone; and the power of the love of Christ has been displayed alike in the most heroic pages of Christian martyrdom, in the most pathetic pages of Christian resignation, in the tenderest pages of Christian charity" (Lecky, *European Morals*, vol. ii., p. 9).

* *Clem. Alex. Str.* 7. From this passage, a most mystical one in a somewhat mystical treatise, the appellation of gods, it will be seen, is given to the saints, who are to reign with the other gods (the first, *i.e.*, the angels.

† St. Justin, *Apologia* 1, Par. 6, Grabe's edition, where a short reference to the controversy is made. A longer account is to be seen in the *Development of Christian Doctrine*, where Cardinal Newman appeals to Burton, who says that "the clause which relates to the angels is connected particularly with the words paying them a reasonable and true honour." This, of course, was the sense in which Newman himself took the passage (see *Development*, pp. 411 *seq.*).

‡ St. Hier. Com. in *Ev. Matt.* Cap. 16. Vos qui estis dii, quem me esse existimatis? In those remote times when even the greatest enemy of the Christians never dreamed of accusing them of "placing the creature before the Creator," language which to us seems extravagant would be often indulged in to show reverence and esteem, *e.g.*, in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, book ii., chap. 26, the Bishop is called "an earthly god," and in chap. 29, *apropos* of the words of God to Moses, "Behold, I have made thee as a god unto Pharaoh," the question is asked, "Why, therefore, will ye not regard your own ambassadors of the Word as prophets and worship them as gods?" Yet, although the expressions would have nothing like the meaning

apostles and martyrs in the Liturgy, was that God would hear our petition by means of their intercession.* "Look down on us from on high, O, sacred and saintly One," exclaims St. Gregory Nazianzen, addressing the departed soul of St. Basil, "and either cause by thine intercession the sting of the flesh given to us by God for our correction to cease, or show us how to support it bravely. Guide us for the very best through life, and, when we die, receive us hence into thine own dwelling."†

Devotion to the Saints meets with frequent mention also in the works of St. Chrysostom.‡ In one passage he alludes to the fact that the inhabitants of the whole city had gone out to implore the assistance of the Apostles in their distress and calamities. In another he tells his listeners that the prayers of the Saints are "very powerful, yes, very powerful."§ "But do not thou," he admonishes his audience in a third place, "do not thou, when thou seeest that God is punishing thee, go over to His enemies . . . but approach His friends the Martyrs, the Saints, those that are pleasing to Him and that have with Him such power."|| At the close of his sermon on St. Meletius he calls on the people to pray, "taking the Blessed Meletius himself as a helper in this prayer; for his power is all the greater now, and all the warmer is his affection for us."¶

The practice was a common one. The devotion was widespread. How extensively the Saints entered into the life of the people is best proved from the fact that the Father to whom reference has just been made felt it his duty to warn his spiritual subjects against leaving every-

which they would have if used in the same connection now, the very fact that they were used at all shows very great reverence and esteem towards those objects in relation to whom they were employed.

* Cyril, Hier. Catech. 5. "That God by their prayers and intercession may receive our petition.

† Or. 20. See also Or. 19, in which St. Gregory addresses St. Cyprian: "Look down on us with tenderness from above and guide us both in word and work."

‡ Chrysos. Contra Ludos. "Our whole city made its way like a torrent to the places of the Apostles, and we took for our advocates Saint Peter and the Blessed Andrew, and the two Apostles Paul and Timothy."

§ Chrysos. Hom. In. Cap. 3. Ep. ad Thess.

|| Chrysos. Adversus Judæos 8.

¶ De Meletio Antiocheno.

thing to the blessed, while they were idle themselves, in the matter of their salvation. When we refuse to bestir ourselves, then God will not hear the Saints; "not because *they* are weak, but because *we* are remiss and negligent."* The abuse may have existed only in the mind of Chrysostom, over-anxious about the personal sanctity of his people; but the warning against an abuse presupposes the existence of the thing with which that abuse is connected. It would have been worse than ridiculous had the Saint admonished his hearers not to do to excess that which he would be aware they never dreamed of doing at all. It would have been a waste of time, of which that Father especially would have been the last to be guilty, had he said: "Beware, lest you get into the way of thinking that, if we have asked the prayers of the Saints, we need concern ourselves very little about personal good works," could his listeners have possibly retorted: "But you know full well that neither we nor any other Christian would pray to a Saint on any matter whatsoever. Such a practice is unheard of; such a thing would be wicked. No one believes in the intercession of the Saints."

Intimately connected with the question of the *Cultus Sanctorum* is that of the veneration of relics and a belief in their miraculous power. The Christian of Primitive times acknowledged, as we have seen, that the soul of the Saint was precious in the sight of God, and he very naturally concluded that the body in which the soul had triumphed was, particularly in the case of the Martyrs, equally well pleasing to Him. The remains of the devoted servants of God were esteemed to be priceless. They were powerful in every kind of need. They were preserved and were

* Chrysos. Hom. in Gen. Cap. 44. "When we do what we can ourselves, the intercession of the Saints is of the greatest value to us." Also Hom. 5 in Matt. "For the prayers of the Saints have the greatest power; but it is when we ourselves are repentant and (strive to) become better." As will be seen, nothing was farther from the mind of this Father than the thought that devotion to the Saints was vain or superstitious, still less would he have esteemed it "idolatrous." "We should," he says, "neither leave everything to the prayers of the Saints and be idle ourselves, doing none of those things which lead to virtue; nor should we, on the other hand, when we do good, despise their help. For their prayer for us is very powerful (*μεγάλα δύνανται*)." Chrysos. Hom. 5. In. Ep. ad Thess. Cap. 3.

treated with great devotion and reverence. The disciples of the Martyr Polycarp cannot rest until they have obtained from his persecutors all that the flames have left behind of their beloved master ; and they assure us that they regard those charred remains above gold, silver, and precious stones.* St. Basil praises the assiduity with which the multitude had remained all through the night at the shrine of the soldier of Christ.† St. Augustine devotes one whole chapter in his well-known work *De Civitate Dei* to the description of the miracles wrought at the tombs of the Martyrs, some of which he himself saw ; and of the touching faith of those afflicted with divers complaints and diseases, who came to seek a cure at the numerous shrines of which he makes mention.‡ The Emperor Theodosius went in person to obtain possession of the head of St. John the Baptist which a former Emperor had been miraculously prevented from translating into the city of Constantinople. The custodian of the precious remains—an old nun—refused the petition of Theodosius, naturally desiring to keep that which she had reverently guarded ever since the former occasion when, “wonderfully, and as if the thing were divine,” the head of the Baptist determined to dwell in her little dwelling, rather than under the protection of princes. At last she yielded to the supplications of the pious Theodosius, under the belief that the same experiences awaited him as those to which Valens, his predecessor,

* Eusebii. *His. Ecc.* Book iv.

† St. Basil. *Hom.* in Ps. 114. “Entering into the presence of this holy Tomb of the Martyrs at midnight, you have not ceased in singing hymns, and in rendering merciful the God of the Martyrs, waiting for our coming up till mid-day.”

‡ *De. Civ. Dei.* Book xxii., chap. 8. St. Augustine observes before commencing his account of the miracles which he had read about, or heard of, or seen himself: “For even now miracles are wrought in His name, either by means of His Sacraments, or by the prayers and shrines (*memorias*) of His Saints.” The last wonderful cure narrated in this chapter took place at the Shrine of the Martyr St. Stephen in St. Augustine’s presence while he was preaching ; and we have not only the Saint’s testimony as to its truth, but the Notary who was taking down the sermon breaks off abruptly with the following words : “And while Augustine was saying this, the people began to cry out from the Shrine of St. Stephen, ‘Thanks be to God ; Praised be Christ’ ; and while exclamations were uninterruptedly going on, the girl who had been cured was brought round to the apse.” He then tells us that Augustine suddenly stopped his sermon (*Augustine Sermon 323*).

had been obliged to submit. Then the Emperor took the shrine, covered it with the purple in which he was clothed, and bore it to the Metropolis.* The power of the relics was admitted by all; devotion to them was general. St. Chrysostom, in one of his orations on the feast day of a Martyr, dwells on the fact that not only had young and old, rich and poor, followed in the procession of the relics, but the Empress herself had surpassed all others, walking in close proximity to the saintly remains, thus bringing down upon herself those blessings which all regarded as coming, in an especial manner, from contact with the body in which the athlete of Christ had won his crown.† Belief in the efficacy of relics, devotion to them, and the principal features connected with the whole subject generally associated in the modern mind with the "Romish corruptions" of the Middle Ages, will strike the attention of the student of antiquity almost at every turn he takes. Martyrs appear in visions and dreams to point out the place where their remains, long lost, may be found; bodies which, after having been consigned to the grave for centuries, would ordinarily have been reduced to their original nothingness, are taken up in a state of perfect preservation; and, while the devils tremble at the trophies of the martyrs, the faithful, when bearing them from place to place, find their

* Sozomen. *His.* Book vii. Cap. 21.

† Chrysos., vol. xii., p. 469 (Migne). "Our rulers themselves have left their chariots, their officers, their guards, and have joined the ranks of their subjects; and she who wears the crown and who is clothed with the purple would not, in spite of the length of the journey, allow herself to be separated from the relics, but, as a handmaid, followed the Saints touching the shrine and the veil which covered it, treading under foot all human pride." And again in the same homily: "That loving servant of Christ, the Empress, followed the relics, frequently touching them, thus drawing unto herself the blessing; becoming a teacher to everyone else about this beautiful and spiritual gain, and instructing all to draw from this fountain, ever running and never dry."

Chrysostom was himself to be the recipient of the veneration of an Emperor when, gone to his great reward after many grievous afflictions borne in exile, his body was brought back to the city of Constantinople. Theodoret, the historian, tells us that in his own days the remains of the great Doctor of the Church was brought back, and that the "Emperor who now is" approaching them and "touching the bier with his eyes and his forehead, offered supplication for his parents, asking that they might be pardoned for their injustices done in ignorance" (Theodoret, *His. Ecc.*, Book v. Cap. 36).

labour light and the reward of their prayers, their hymns, and their veneration exceedingly great.*

So far I have touched, and that only in a very slight manner, on one point of a very large subject. I have much further to go. Nevertheless, before doing so, I am constrained to ask if there has ever been in Anglicanism anything like the religious state of mind with regard to what, for want of a better name, I will call Saint worship, which, as we can judge from the above testimony, moved and ruled in every member of Ancient Christianity? I may remind my readers that religion is not merely a question of books and of counsels; it is also one of persons and of practice. We have heard the persons speak out their thoughts on this matter; we have seen their actions. Are they the words and actions of the Church of England? Has any one of the Bishops of that Church ever publicly prayed to a Saint like Gregory Nazianzen? Are the names of the Saints in its Liturgy? Has the English nation, for three centuries, been so addicted to the practice of asking the intercession of the special friends of God, that fears have been entertained by even one of their leaders lest they might leave all to others and never pray themselves? In cathedral, in parish church, in mission chapel, where has been the minister in this community, which puts forth the plea of being the "true Catholicism" of the first six

* The Martyr Thyrsus appears to the Empress Pulcheria showing her where the bodies of the forty Martyrs lie concealed, and telling her that she should see that they were honoured as he himself was. In addition to this, the Martyrs themselves, "clothed in white garments, pointed out to her where they might be found" (Sozomen *His. Ecc.*, Book ix., chap. 2). Evagrius describes the apparition of the Martyr Euphemia, as well as the devotion of the Emperor, Bishops and people, at her shrine. He also says: "The miracles which were wrought by the most holy Martyr at various times are known to all Christians" (Evagrius, Book ii., chap. 3). In Book i., chap. 16, the same historian mentions the translation of the relics of St. Ignatius from the city of Rome to that of Antioch, and tells us that "his holy relics were drawn with sacred pomp into the city." In the same chapter he speaks of the celebrated complaint of the pagan god Apollo, that he was unable to speak in the Oracle so long as the relics of St. Babyla lay in the vicinity. For this reason, Julian the Apostate had the remains taken away. A more detailed account of the same incident, together with a description of the veneration which the Christians paid to the relics while obeying the command of the Apostate in moving St. Babyla, as well as the miraculous ease with which their labours were performed, are to be read in Book v. of Sozomen's History, chap. 19; also Chrysostom, *Hom. De Sancto Babyla*.

centuries, who has ever appealed to his congregation to make a Saint their helper in prayer, as Chrysostom did ; or left on record that he and his people together have gone to the Apostles in their calamities, as we see above the Archbishop of Constantinople did of old ? There can be but one answer to these questions. As surely as veneration of the Saints and that of their relics form a part of the very atmosphere of early Christianity, so surely is the opposite of all this of the essence and nature of Anglicanism. The memory of the Saints is departed ; and, where it is not departed, it is, and for three centuries has been, maligned. The English Church possesses no relics to venerate, even had it the wish to do so. And the reason for its having no relics is, not that a Pagan power has taken them away, not because Anglicans themselves, like the early Christians, have borne them, with tears and with hymns of veneration, to some hiding-place safe from impiety, but because they themselves have suffered them either to be cast to the winds or to be shoved away into a dishonourable grave, whence they would not rescue them even if they could, but, on the contrary, would be the first to cry superstition were anyone to try to do so with the intention of paying them the veneration which antiquity would certainly have rendered them. It is not my purpose to say which attitude, the Anglican or the Ancient, is the right one in this matter. It is rather to ask the question : Are they not here absolutely opposed and altogether irreconcilable ?

To the early Christians the Lord whom they so tenderly loved was not a Deity without solicitude for each one of them, or removed from their environment to a distance. There was no need to ascend up into Heaven in order, as the Apostle so well expresses it, to bring Christ down. Their God was not like Baal, of whom Elias the Thesbite had employed the stinging reproach : " Perhaps he is talking, or in an inn, or on a journey, or asleep and must be awaked." Christ was where the Christian was. True, their eyes, like those of the disciples going to Emmaus, were held that they might not look upon the form which was dearer to them than any other in Heaven or on earth ;

but the exercise of His power, so remarkably evident in various ways, but notably by means of the sacred emblem of the Cross, and even by the use of its sign, was a proof to them of the nearness of their Master and of the tender care with which He concerned Himself for each one. The Spirit of Christ in some manner hovered over the instrument of His passion; it was diffused over what was considered to be but a scrap of His writing; it was indissolubly connected with what was regarded as an undoubted likeness of His features*; and it was believed, in some way, to settle upon even a representation of any one of the incidents of His earthly life. The wonders wrought by these and similar objects were so many signs that He Himself was near, just as, to simple minds, the stars have seemed to be but apertures in the firmament letting through glints and gleams of the shining garment of God, who, though invisible on this side, fills the other with the brightness of His glory. The student of antiquity will be at once struck by the miraculous power ascribed by the Christian of that period to the Cross, by the veneration shown towards it, and by the frequency with which the mere sign of it was made. One of the most serious Fathers of the Church assures us that in his own day the "saving Cross of Christ" put to flight the spirits of evil, had the power of healing various diseases, and could annihilate the effects of deadly poison.† St. Augustine narrates the case of an immediate cure from cancer by means of the sign of the Cross.‡ "In the time of our forefathers," says Chrysostom, "and even in our own, this sign has opened the closed doors, has nullified the power of deadly poison, has rendered innocuous the most fatal herb, and has healed

* I am, of course, alluding to the letter and the portrait supposed to have been written and sent by Our Lord to King Agbanus, to which I shall have occasion to refer again in a moment.

† τούτο μέχρι σήμερον θεραπεύει νόσους. τούτο μέχρι σήμερον δαίμονας ἀπελαύνει φαρμάκων τε καὶ ἐπαιδῶν ἀνατρέπει γυνήτας (St. Cyril, Hieros Catech. 13).

‡ The incident mentioned by St. Augustine is to be found in the 12nd Book of the *De Civitate Dei*, and is that of a lady, one of the principal citizens of Carthage. Suffering from a cancer in the breast, she was given up as incurable by the physicians, after which "Ad solum Deum se orando converterat. Admonitur in somnis appropinquante Pascha ut in parte feminarum observanti ad baptisterium quaecumque illi baptizata primitus occurrisset signaret ei locum signo Christi: fecit, et confestim sanitas consecuta est."

from the bites of mortiferous beasts.*" The sacred symbol was esteemed to be of such miraculous efficacy that the Emperor Constantine would not enter into battle unless it led the way; and while the standard-bearer who relinquished his hold of the Cross was at once mortally wounded, the soldier who stretched forth his hand to receive it was divinely upheld and defended.† The wood of the Sacred Instrument of the Passion was deemed to be so precious that Chrysostom alludes with evident pleasure to the great emulation shown by all ranks in the endeavour to obtain a small portion of it, at the same time speaking of the custom which then prevailed of wearing it, encased in gold, suspended from the neck.‡ The sign of the Cross—mentioned by St. Basil as coming down from the Apostles, § the use of which, he asserts, was "most common" in his days—was inseparably connected with almost every action, religious and otherwise, of these early adherents to the Christian Faith. There is one passage on the subject in Tertullian which must be known to almost everyone||;

* St. Chrysos. Vol. vii., p. 621. Migne.

† Sozomen, the historian, narrates the incident alluded to in the text in the following manner: "It is said that he who carried it (the standard of the Cross) was on a certain occasion suddenly attacked by the enemy, and, being overcome with fear, he handed it over to another, and fled from the fight. But, although he had withdrawn himself outside of the range of the spears, he, nevertheless, fell down struck with a mortal wound. Yet he who had received the sacred sign remained untouched, in spite of the many shafts which were being directed against him. For wonderfully, and as it were by a divine power—*παράδοξως γὰρ πως ὡς ὑπὸ θείας δυνάμεως*—the darts of the enemy were borne straight towards, and became fastened into, the sign, and they flew away from him who held it, standing as he was in the thick of the danger." (Ecc. His., Book i., chap. 4.)

‡ St. Chrysostom appeals to the Pagans to tell him how, unless by the Divine power of the Crucified, the Cross, which had previously been an ignominious instrument of torture, had become so beloved by the Christians. "Why," he continues, "has the very wood itself on which that Holy Body was stretched out and crucified become a thing which everyone strives to possess? And many, when they obtain a little piece of it, case it in gold, and both men and women hang it from their necks as an ornament." *Πόθεν οὖν εἰπέ μοι, πᾶσιν οὕτω νῦν περισπούδαστος πᾶσιν οὕτω ποθευόμενος γέγονε πάντων προτιμώτερος; Αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ξύλον ἐκείνου, ἐνθα τὸ ἅγιον ἐτάθη σῶμα καὶ ἀνεσκολοπισθῆναι, πῶς ἐστὶ περιμάχητον ἅπασιν; καὶ μικρὸν τι λαμβάνοντες ἐξ ἐκείνου πολλοὶ καὶ χρυσῷ κατακλείοντες καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν τραχήλων ἐξαρτῶσι τῶν ἐναντῶν καλλοπιζόμενοι.* (Chrysos. Vol. i., p. 698. Migne.)

§ St. Basil. *De Spiritu Sancto*, Cap. 27.

|| Ad omnem progressum, atque promotum, ad omnem aditum et exitum ad vestitum et calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quaecunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus. (Tertullian, *De Corona*.)

but, in another not so frequently adduced, this stern African pillar of the early Church refers to the sign of the Cross, which a Christian woman would make almost from force of habit over her couch and her person, as a matter which should restrain her from entering into marriage with a Pagan, since it is wrong to cast pearls before swine.* So often was the hand called upon to delineate the sign of our Redemption that not infrequently it did so without the least reflection of the mind. In times of danger or of sudden fright, at lighting the lamps in a room, on entering the doors of the public baths, and even when raising the cup of wine to the lips in a tavern, the familiar religious action would be done without any effort or impulse of the will. The Christian might lose his Faith, might become even an enthusiastic unbeliever; nevertheless, the habit could not be altogether eradicated. For we are told of Julian the Apostate that, in moments of superstitious fear, he was known to make the sign of the Cross.†

* The pearl which Tertullian thinks should not be cast before the Pagan swine are the daily marks of our Christian profession—quotidiana conversationis insignia—and he therefore asks the person whom he is warning against a Gentile marriage: "Will you not be seen when you sign your couch and your person?" (*Ad Uxorem*, Cap. 5.)

† There is an incident of the reign of Julian narrated by Theodoret (Book iii., Cap. 16 and 17) concerning a number of soldiers whom that Emperor had required to burn incense to a Pagan deity before he bestowed on them certain monies. Theodoret says that the men were so intent on getting the gold as not to perceive that the action demanded of them, and which they did, amounted to the denial of the Christian religion. On leaving the presence chamber of the monarch, they retired to take a meal together, during which one of the number taking up a cup of wine, "did not drink before he had made over it the sign of salvation"—ὃν πρότερον ἔπαιε πρὶν τὴν σωτήριον ἐπιθέσθαι σφαγίδα. One of his companions thereupon blamed him for this as altogether opposed to that which he had just done, and as he was not able at first to see to what his companion was alluding, he was told plainly that the incense he had offered could not be reconciled with the profession of Christianity which he had just made. So struck with repentance were the men that they ran through the streets exclaiming that they were Christians and that Julian had deceived them. They then approached the Emperor himself, and were sent into exile.

The same writer (in Book iii., Cap. 3) informs us that Julian, while not as yet openly a Pagan, approached certain of the "deceiving demons" in order to find out what chance he had of succeeding to the throne. The demon made his appearance, "but very fear obliged Julian to make the sign of the Cross upon his forehead."

St. Chrysostom, in speaking about habit, says: "For custom acts at last without pre-determination. For example, many on entering the baths sign themselves with the sign of the Cross at the doors. The hand knows how to do this from habit without anyone's ordering it. Again, when lighting

When the mind withdraws itself from the consideration of the devotion and love which Early Christianity evinced for the very form and the sign of the Cross of Christ, and is forced to dwell on the attitude of Anglicanism in relation to the same object, it wonders how the two systems can be mentioned in the same breath. "The praises of God upon their lips and a two-edged sword in their hands" are words which will spring involuntarily upon the tongue when the action of the Church of England in this matter is remembered. From the moment it started until now its one cry has been, the Cross; yet, had it been a community professing the most anti-Christian principles, it could hardly have been more antagonistic to the sacred emblem of our Lord's great love for us than it actually has been. The piety of the Middle Ages took infinite pains to place the sign of our Redemption everywhere. It greeted the eye from a hundred quarters in the church itself. It met the glance on all sides, in the streets of the city, in the open places of the smaller towns, and in the lanes of remote villages. It was a beloved and precious thing, as it was with the members of the primitive Faith. What else can we conclude except that violent hatred and contempt are responsible for its complete disappearance wherever the Established Church has made its home or possessed the least power? The bishops, the ministers, the members of that Church have joined together, and the result of their combined action has been that not one Cross, which could without a superhuman effort be reached, has been left intact. What they could not move they defaced; what they could not extricate they obliterated. And even now, when some kind of repentance for their past misdeeds in this matter appears to have seized a portion of the clergy, their leaders, nevertheless, refuse to regard the

a lamp, frequently, while the mind is thinking about something else, the hand makes the sign of the Cross." (Chrysos. Vol. ix., p. 101. Migne).

St. Augustine, in making the complaint that many Christians were at the games when they should be at church, goes on to say that they would, nevertheless, sign themselves with the sign of the Cross continually, were they frightened by anything in the circus, "thus bearing on their foreheads (the Cross) they stand in a place whence they would have kept away had they carried it in their hearts." (S. Aug. En. in Ps. 50.)

Cross as anything but an "architectural ornament,"* and they have again and again ordered its removal, in case it might possibly be regarded in any other light. As for the laity, a cross placed on a reredos or on a Communion table so far distresses them that the sight of it has been sufficient to throw a peaceful parish into a state of the fiercest warfare; and, even at the present time, if they suffer with its presence in silence, it is not because of the least devotion they have towards it as a sacred object, but because they regard it as quite too indifferent to trouble about, or as an ornament like the vases placed by its sides, or as something which the "change of front of the Bishops" has made it impossible to get rid of, agitate as they may. It is difficult to imagine, without entirely losing seriousness, what an Anglican congregation would think did one of their preachers inform them, with S. Cyril, that even now the Cross will cure from the effects of poison or send away evil spirits. Does any one of its Bishops know of any very marked anxiety among the members of the English Church to obtain a portion of the true Cross? Is there the least emulation among them to get possession of a piece of it, as there was, according to Chrysostom, among the Christians of his day? There was a time, and that within the memory of most, when the sign of the Cross was made in only one action, public or private, of the religious affairs of our Anglican countrymen.† Even then it was made with great heart-burnings by a very great many. How can this be reconciled with the testimony of Augustine, who tells us that the sacred sign was made also in Confirmation, in the "Sacrifice on which we feed," and, in fact, in the celebration of all the Sacraments?‡ Where is the habit among English Churchmen of crossing themselves, a practice which, as we have seen, was so firmly rooted in Primitive Christianity? No such practice exists, or ever has existed. Much was done by the Tractarian movement, much is still being done by the Ritualist agitation, to revive a custom with which, one would suppose, no person could in the least way find

* See *Life of Archbishop Tait*, vol. i. 217.

† In administering Baptism.

‡ *St. Augustine's Tract. in Joan.*, 118.

fault; but the majority of the clergy, and almost all the laity, show no disposition of losing that violent dislike towards making upon the person the form of "the Sign of the Son of Man," which has been instilled into them and carefully fostered by over three centuries of Anglicanism. They associate this practice with "Romanism." When they sit down at table, or rise from their bed, or retire to rest, they are the very reverse, in this respect, of the Christians mentioned above by Tertullian. So absolutely dead is the custom, to say nothing of the habit, that the High Churchman who has sufficient courage to indulge in doing it before each and everyone, when reciting Grace, must often feel very much like the Israelites in Babylon when asked to "sing the Lord's songs"—it must strike them that, as Anglicans among Anglicans, they are performing a pious, Catholic action "in a strange land," and in a land quite hostile to anything of the kind.* Let us, however, pass on to even more serious matters.

* I cannot leave this phase of my subject without referring to the universality of the belief in miracles and the firm conviction that supernatural agency was at work, either by means of the Saints living or dead, or by the immediate action of our Lord. This is as much a characteristic of the first six centuries as it is of the tenth or twelfth. St. Jerome assures us that he was beaten by angels, and that our Lord spoke to him in a vision. St. Gregory the Great has written a whole work filled with the supernatural, in which it is very evident he firmly believed. The *Life of St. Anthony* by St. Athanasius, and that of *St. Hilarion* by St. Jerome, contain many most wonderful incidents. Eusebius the historian tells us of the "wonderful signs of the Saviour's benefaction" to the woman cured by the touching of His garment, remaining in his day. From the stone base of a representation of the gospel incident, a strange herb grew up till it reached the hem of the tunic of the brass statue of Christ. The herb had the miraculous power of healing "all manner of diseases" (Eusebius, *His. Ecc.*, Book vii., chap. 18). Evagrius assures us that water, in which the picture of our Lord was placed, assumed a miraculous power and saved a city from the Persians (Book iv., chap. 26). He also tells us that the picture of our B. Lady turned itself away in anger from a heretic who was praying in front of it (Book v., chap. 18). St. Chrysostom says plainly that he believes in an incident about the Blessed Sacrament, which he narrates: a certain saintly person had seen angels accompanying the Viaticum to the sick, guarding it like soldiers. (*De Sacer.*, Book vi.) It is not the *fact* of the miracles on which I lay stress; it is rather on the spirit of the day in which, we will say (in order to avoid anything like a controversy on ecclesiastical miracles), they were sincerely believed by all Christians to have taken place. Is there anything at all similar to that spirit in Anglicanism? Has there ever been? Can we imagine a devout writer in the Church of England both believing himself, and feeling sure that others will be pleased to read, narrations at all like those we meet with in the *Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*? Taking one chapter of that ancient author at random (the 13th, Book i.),

No heresy, excepting that of Arius, can be said to have so much moved the soul of the people, and to have aroused feelings of such deep resentment against its authors, as that which is known by the name of Nestorianism. Churches were made the scenes of angry disagreement between people and preacher, streets were filled with fierce disputants, and while one historian, who confesses his wish to be just to Nestorius, does not scruple to call him ignorant and arrogant, another, who enters a little more fully into the whole question, speaks bitterly of him as "the tongue that fought against God, the second council of Caiphaz, and the workshop of blasphemy." What was the cause of such deep emotion and of such intense indignation? We know what, by the time the Council of Ephesus had been convened, the heresy of Nestorius had become*; but what so fastened general attention on to it, that one of the reasons for convoking the Council at all, was the troubled state of mind and the disturbances which it had caused to be widespread and general?† One word alone is responsible for everything. Anastasius, a priest and a friend of Nestorius, had asserted that the Blessed Virgin Mary neither could be nor ought to be called Theotokos, Mother of God; and Nestorius, instead of reprimanding the priest, espoused his cause and made it his own. Whatever else was subsequently laid to the charge of the Heresiarch, it was the refusal to give the title of Mother of God to Mary which started the controversy, which made that controversy at once intelligible to the people, and which was the feature under which, more than any other, the controversy has been handed down to posterity. Socrates, the historian,

we are told of one holy person who was "by divine power" carried over a stream; of another who saw the soul of his saintly friend carried by angels into Heaven, although they were separated from each other "a distance of many days' journey"; and of a third, at whose word the closed doors of a prison opened and the bands of a prisoner fell off.

* How very serious were some of the errors which Nestorius eventually upheld may be seen from the last one enumerated in the list of twelve which St. Cyril calls on him to retract: "If any one does not confess that the Word of God suffered in the flesh, was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, as also that He was the first fruits of the dead, forasmuch as he is Life and giveth life as God, let him be anathema" (3rd Letter to Nestorius, Edited by C. A. Heurtley).

† Socrates, Book vii., chap. 32.

goes so far as to assert that, before the Council was called, he could find no heresy in the writings of Nestorius other than that contained in his denial that Mary was rightly to be called the Mother of God.* In that denial Evagrius also saw the origin of the confusion, telling us that it was shocking to the Christ-loving congregation who heard it, and who justly considered it to be a blasphemy.† It comes first in the letter written by Cyril to Nestorius among twelve false propositions which he calls on him to retract; and it forms the burthen of the epistle of reconciliation, written by Cyril to John of Antioch, in which that Saint, in a manner, explains his opposition to the Heresiarch. There were, we repeat, other subjects on which Nestorius had erred, forming, to use the expression of Evagrius, a manufactory of blasphemies against Christ; but this matter of the Theotokos, as it was the first so was it also the principal cause of the deep and bitter hostility which he was henceforth, to the day of his death, to suffer from the Orthodox. He had touched the Blessed Virgin. He had called her honour, her special dignity into question. He had endeavoured to dethrone her from a position which raises her in a very sublime manner far above any other human being, and which makes her altogether different from the rest of the Saints. It was too late in the day to tell them that Mother of Christ would do for Christian people better than the other more solemn title. Their fathers had handed down to them Theotokos as the special prerogative of Mary;‡ and to deny that that word properly expressed her position was "blasphemously" wrong. Wrong, not because misbelief in the great doctrine of the Atonement necessarily and logically followed from the

* Socrates. *Ibidem*.

† Evagrius. *Ecc. Hist.*, Book i., chap. 2. How true it is that the root of all the evil caused by Nestorius was his denial that our B. Lady is the Mother of God is seen from his own words spoken at the Council: "Let Mary be called Mother of God," he said; "so shall there be an end to these troubles." But the Fathers of the Council, naturally, distrusted his words. (Socrates, Book vii., chap. 32.)

‡ It may be necessary to remark that the title Theotokos, Mother of God, was given to the Blessed Virgin long before this time. The letter of St. Cyril to John says that the *belief* that Mary is the Dei genitrix had been handed down from the Fathers; and Socrates mentions Origen and Eusebius as making use of the *name*.

denial, but because that denial did rob Mary of a glory which they loved to think was hers, as the Sacred Scripture made them fell sure it really was. How great was the esteem which Christians, at this time, felt and fostered for the Mother of God is clearly shown by the expressions about her which fell from the lips of the great opponent of Nestorius, St. Proclus, who became, a short time after the heat of the controversy had cooled, Archbishop of Constantinople. He commends the people for the assiduity and numbers in which they had assembled to listen to his praises of the Virgin. The following is one of the sentences in which they took delight, which they listened to with pleasure: "There is nothing in this life like Mary, Mother of God. Let the whole world pass in imagination before thee, O Man, and see if there be anything equal with or greater than the Holy Virgin, Mother of God. Consider the earth, look at the sea, closely examine the stars, search with your intellect the heavens, think of the things not visible, and then see if there be any miracle like her in all creation." * Is it really a fact that the members of the Anglican Church, now appealing to this very antiquity, and ever asserting that they are the followers of the Primitive Christians, would for a moment submit to expressions savouring of such strong "Mariolatry" as the above? Surely, the heavens might fall before we could believe that either clergy or laity would suffer in silence words like the following to fall from the lips of some modern Proclus, that Mary was "the only bridge of God to man"; † "the dwelling-place of the Blessed Trinity"; ‡ "to be worshipped because she was the mother, the maidservant, and the ark of God"; § that "there is no one at all similar with her among the Saints"; that "she alone has brought healing to the anguish of Eve, alone wiped away the tears of her that was sobbing, alone has borne the price of the world's redemption." || They are the words of Proclus, one hundred and fifty years before the close of those six centuries which we are now

* St. Procli., Orat. v.

† *Ibidem*, Or. i.

‡ *Ibidem*, Or. vi.

§ St. Procli., Or. v.

|| St. Procli., Or. v. (The words are addressed to Our Lady.)

examining. They are the sentiments, too, of the listeners who gladly went over with him, to use his own expression, the vast sea of the Virgin's praises. They hear Proclus praise her, and they are pleased; they hear Nestorius refusing to give her the honour which they had been brought up to believe was due to her, and they regard his words as a blasphemy to Mary as well a personal injury done to themselves. Ecclesiastical writers, together with the people, resented anything which might at all be interpreted as a slight against the Mother of God. It is the honour of the Virgin which St. Jerome feels he is defending in his remarkable tractate on the ever-virginity of our Lady, written against Helvidius.* What article of the faith had been attacked by the assertion of the heretic that, after the incarnation, other children were born of whom Mary was the parent? The virgin Birth of Christ had not in the least degree been questioned by the "rustic," as St. Jerome calls Helvidius. It was the heart of the Christian, filled with love for this purest of God's creatures, and ready at any moment to show her the honour which is her right, that was profoundly moved and deeply wounded by even the insinuation of any other, save Christ, having entered that *Hortus Conclusus* and that *Porta clausa principi*, which they were firmly persuaded Mary was. They felt that she had been insulted. They resented it, as an insult always is resented by those who love the object attacked; and they, therefore, coined a word which should both express the gift which the Lord's beloved Mother had so sedulously kept intact, and make it impossible for anyone of the same faith with them to deny or to question the fact—that is, ever-virginity, or *aeiparthenia*.

Has there been in the past, is there now, in Anglicanism as a religious body anything at all like this sensitive spirit of admiration and affection for the Blessed Virgin? Does that Communion in the least degree hold the opinion of St. Augustine that, when the matter of sin enters into

* St. Jerome complains that the "impiety" of the views of this infamous heretic are an "injury" to our B. Lady; and he describes them as nothing less than an endeavour to "burn the Temple of the Lord's Body" and to "defile the sanctuary of the Holy Spirit."

a dispute, Mary should be left out?* Would any congregation feel it at all deeply were one of its ministers solemnly to assert that she is not the Mother of God, and that it is wicked to describe her by the use of that title? Would the speaker draw down upon himself the condemnation of his bishop? Would his listeners rise as one man, loud in their cries at his blasphemy, feeling that, in attacking Mary, a wound had been inflicted on themselves? It is hardly conceivable. The only spirit of sensitiveness which, from the commencement of its existence, the Church of England has indeed evinced with astonishing readiness is of a quite opposite nature. She sees in every small word of praise of the Virgin an act of idolatry. A "Hail Mary" will make her start with nervous apprehension, so terrible are the shadows of superstition which seem to her to be connected with even an angel's salutation to Mary! Ten "Hail Maries," said consecutively, will rouse even so advanced a man as the present Bishop of London to take action, so low are the depths of corruption which ten "Hail Maries," said consecutively, show that a person has reached! A simple reference to Mary as Mother of God, or as the Ever-Virgin Mother of God—titles which were not at all infrequently applied to her during the first six centuries—would send an English Church congregation, together with the whole bench of Bishops, into a concerned state of sensational flutter. They would "see things" popish in the terms; and would, before long, beat the matter up into a fierce no-popery agitation. Even now, after so much has been done by the High Church party, is it at all possible for a Bishop to stand up in his Cathedral, as St. Gregory Nazianzen did in the fourth century, and, before the whole audience, approve of prayers addressed to our Lady?† Can we imagine a writer of the Established

* St. Aug., *De Natura et Gratia Contra Pelagium*. "Excepta itaque sancta virgine Maria de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus cum de peccatis agitur haberi volo quaestionem." The whole passage, both before and after this extract, should be read to see how quite unique Augustine regarded the sinlessness of Mary to be.

† Την Παρθένον Μαρίαν ἱκετεύοντα βοηθῆσαι παρθένῳ κινδυνεύουσῃ "earnestly beseeching the Virgin Mary to aid a virgin in distress" (St. Gregory

Church expressing his belief in an apparition of Mary in the following words: "The Blessed Virgin appeared to certain of the Faithful and set them against the wicked Anatolius, saying that he had reviled her Son." * They are, nevertheless, to be found recorded in the works of an historian of the sixth century. Can we conceive of anything emanating from an Anglican similar to this: "A certain nobleman, president of the Emperor's palace, one who had much befriended Anatolius, said that the Mother of God had appeared to him, and that she had asked him how long he would continue to take the part of Anatolius who had insulted both her and her Son." The passage is taken from the same historian, who also mentions the incident connected with the picture of Mary to which I have already made reference. To ask whether or not the members of the Church of England would believe in such narrations is, I feel, a complete waste of time. Would they even read them with patience? Would not the words superstition and idolatry, at the mere mention of such apparitions, at once arise in their minds, if not upon their lips? †

Naz., Or. 18). The allusion is to St. Justina mentioned in connexion with St. Cyprian, whose life is the subject of this discourse. It is well known that Gregory here confuses one St. Cyprian with another; but this does not weaken the passage as a proof of the preacher's own conviction as to the utility of prayers to Our Lady. This personal conviction, both of the saintly preacher and of his audience, becomes even more noticeable when we bear in mind that the old Greek life of St. Cyprian and St. Justina, which St. Gregory mistook for that of the Carthaginian St. Cyprian, makes no mention of the supplication of Justina. Gregory is preaching an oration, not writing a life, and he represents the Christian maiden suffering from a violent assault of the Evil One, as doing that which he and the people in front of him considered one of the most natural things to do under the circumstances, *i.e.*, praying to our Lady.

* This and the extract which follows it are to be found in Evagrius, Book v., chapter 18.

† On the other hand, whatever implies that Mary, if good, was of only ordinary sanctity and enjoys no exceptional dignity is either loudly applauded or silently acquiesced in. Take, for example, the question of the *aeiparthenia*—the ever-virginity. In two of the most popular books among Anglicans it is denied. Farrer (Dean of Canterbury), in his *Life of Christ*, says that it is his opinion that "the brethren" mentioned in the gospels "were the sons of Mary" (page 70. Cassels Ed.). Edersheim, in his *Life and Times of Jesus*, Vol. i., p. 364, "frankly owns" that this is his view also. The present writer has never heard of any protest, much less of any outcry, having been raised against this view expressed by these distinguished ecclesiastics of the Church of England. But what would Jerome, or Augustine, or, in fact, the whole Church for the first six centuries, have said to them? For their opinion is the Helvidian heresy pure and simple.

That ancient Christianity was simple, and that it might, with the greatest truth, be called a religion of the Spirit, we are only too ready to admit; but, on antecedent grounds alone, the thoughtful mind will find it difficult to believe that that simplicity consisted in a complete absence of ceremony. Calm consideration will cause us to wonder how the Early Church could possibly have manifested that puritanical bareness of worship which has, up till recently, been the boasted possession of the English Church, and which it is now laying aside for bright and eccentric services, professing, however, that no religious symbolism must be associated with any of them. The first converts of Primitive Christianity were made, it is generally confessed, from the ranks of the poor; but the poor have always shown the greatest disinclination to leave a religion in which outward forms and rites were many and impressive for one which has nothing of the kind to offer. The "people" were the last to be won over to the reformed faith in this country, and even then the stringent laws had much to do with the change.* The poor will not readily give up the ceremonies to which they have been used, even for others to which they are not accustomed; for, at a time when Christianity was triumphant in the state, the *pagani* or country folk, still stayed without, wedded to the rites of their childhood and to the signs of religion with which they and their fathers had been for generations familiar. The poor cling to ceremonies with a passionate fondness. They are the helps to their Faith. They are the channels by which so frequently, as we ourselves see, the very sweet belief which is deep in their hearts is poured forth before the eyes of others. They, at least, and the same may be said of the more educated, have never regarded religion from the standpoint of a few mystics of the Middle Ages and of the pietistic school of more recent times. They have never, that is to say, reckoned perfec-

* The words of Sir William Paget to the Lord Protector in the reign of Edward VI. well describes the position of affairs in England at the Reformation: "The use of the old religion is forbidden by law, and the use of the new is not yet printed in the stomachs of eleven out of twelve parts of the realm, whatever countenance men make outwardly to please them in whom they see the power resteth." (Strype's Annals. Appendix H. H.).

tion to consist in having a shiftless, passive, inactive soul which will discard all rites and even sacraments, not because these are useless, but because, on the contrary, they are of the greatest possible assistance, and the greater the helps the soul can do without, the nearer to perfection it must stand. Antecedently then, we should find it most difficult not to feel convinced that an invitation to join a religion devoid of rites, of mysteries, and of external forms, made to people so addicted to formalism as were both the Jew and Gentile converts of the early Church, must have fallen flat and been bound to fail. It would seem like asking a man, sure that God was in the Temple where he worshipped Him, or that He was represented in the ceremonies he witnessed there, to disbelieve it all and embrace a faith where, with the surroundings of bare walls and to the accompaniment of a melancholy recitation of psalms, the warmth of God's presence knew no place, and had, therefore, left his soul, like the "service" he was now taking part in, deadly cold and chill.

Let us enter, however, into the domain of positive proof as to the existence of ceremonies in the Primitive Church, and of one specific doctrine which, from its very nature, demands, and necessarily creates, much formality round about it. As will be seen, I need make no apology for referring to the pages of the Venerable Bede, although his work lies outside of the period set down by the framers of the appeal to antiquity. There we see "Romish superstitions," as they were called, in their full vigour. The venerable historian assures us that Altars, Masses, Vestments, Holy Water, and the acknowledgment that the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Christ, were some of the religious things and a part of the belief which Augustine brought into the country. The writer also shows that the Sacrifice of the Mass was regarded not only as powerful in breaking the bonds of purgatory but also as efficacious in loosing from those of a more earthly character.* Did this state of

* Among the articles which Bede tells us were sent by St. Gregory to England, "*quæ ad cultum erant necessaria*," he mentions the following:—"*Vestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum, et sacerdotalia vel clericalia indumenta*" (*E. His.*, Bk. i., c. 29). Again, St. Gregory gives the

religion suddenly begin at the commencement of the seventh century? Mass, the Real Presence, Prayers for the Dead, even thoughts of erecting a Church to the honour of Mary, Mother of God, and, more than all, the supremacy of the Pope, appear there in the year 601, not as the beliefs of a few of the clergy whom the hand of the Bishops does its best to suppress, but as the settled conviction of all.* Was there some influence of the Evil One at work as the last minute of the year Anno Domini 600 was running out, biding its time and waiting in ambush to spring these "Romish corruptions" on to the new year of a new century? In a moment was the "purity" of the first six centuries changed to "Romanism"? For over sixty years, in our own day, a section of the English Church has been trying to reintroduce these very things into that Communion. Their struggles are a matter of history and will be known to posterity. After so long a time they have touched only a small portion of the members of their Church. Can we believe that a similar event took place over thirteen hundred years ago; that the change succeeded then without the least struggle; that it embraced, not merely a fraction of the people of the land, but everyone, bishops, clergy and laity; that this happened, not in the course of sixty years, but in a moment, and that, if such a miracle had taken place, history would have been altogether silent concerning it? The fact that these religious usages and doctrines are to be found at the opening of the seventh century is proof that they were there fifty years previously at least; and we are thus brought again to the times which have been chosen as the limits in which the profession of pure doctrine is to be found alone.†

following instructions concerning the heathen temples :—"Aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur" (*Ibidem*, chap. 30). In chapter 27 the Eucharist is called "the Body of the Lord Almighty." For the "celebration of Mass" see Book ii., chap. 1. For power and efficacy of the Mass see Book iv., chap. 22.

* Bede's own opinion of the supremacy of the Pope is shown when speaking of St. Gregory: "Cum primum in toto orbe pontificatum gereret" (Book ii., cap. 1). St. Augustine's is seen by his question to Gregory as to what relationship they stood in with regard to the Bishops of Gaul, and Gregory's answer: "In galliarum episcopos nullam tibi auctoritatem tribuimus" (Book i., cap. 27).

† The Venerable Bede is so universally respected that, I may also

It is, of course, a fact that all of these matters were ancient in the seventh century. They had been the belief of Christians for ages. They had been received from the Christians of the sixth century, and these, in their turn, had inherited them as the deposit of Faith and practice from those of the fifth, who likewise professed the doctrines and performed the religious actions of the generations which preceded them. St. Chrysostom makes mention of the use of Holy water, as well as of the vestments of the clergy.* St. Augustine speaks of the exorcisms, the exsufflations, and the white garment in the administration of Baptism.† St. Cyril of Jerusalem witnesses to prayers for the departed in the Mass.‡ And St. Gregory particularly dwells on the existence of a Purgatory.§ How very little these things have in common with the Church of England we know, both from the fact that they were all

observe, as he mentions no other form of faith but that in which these so-called "Romish corruptions" appear, we must conclude that there was no other, and had been no other from St. Augustine's day. Had there been a "purer" religion, the historian must have known when it ceased and when the corrupt one, which he himself so much admired, commenced. He was about seven and twenty years of age when England had been Christian just a hundred years. He must have known many who had come into contact with those who could remember the coming of Augustine. Had there been a change, then, from so-called simplicity to "abuse," he would have been aware of it. He was too conscientious to suppress it. We can only conclude, therefore, that that faith and those practices, which the historian loves so much to write about, were the very same as those introduced by Augustine.

* St. Chrysostom, *Hom. de Epiphania*: "For this is the day on which He was baptised and on which He hallowed the nature of water. For this cause at midnight on this feast everyone fetches water for himself, takes it home, and lays it by, keeping it through the year; because to-day the water is hallowed." The Saint goes on to say that the very fact that it kept pure for the year, and sometimes for two or three years, is a proof of its miraculous nature. In *Hom. 82 in Mattheum* he alludes to the white and shining garment worn by the Deacon when administering the chalice.

† *De Nuptiis*, Book ii., chap. 29, and *Sermo* 120.

‡ St. Cyril Hier.: "Then (we pray) for all the Holy Fathers and Bishops departed this life (προκεικοιμνήτων) and simply for all who, from among us, are gone before, believing that the greatest assistance is given to those souls for whom the supplication of this holy and tremendous sacrifice lying before us is offered up. (μερίστην δυνάμιν πιστεύοντες ἵδεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέησις ἀναφέρεται τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης Θυσίας) Catechism 5. The whole passage following should be read, for Cyril compares the dead to those who are in exile, bearing punishment for offences against their king.

§ St. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, Book iv., chap. 39. "De quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante judicium purgatorius ignis credendus est." The expression is followed by one of the ordinary proofs for the existence of a Purgatory; and in the following chapter St. Gregory narrates a case of deliverance from Purgatory through the prayers of the living.

somewhat violently discontinued at the Reformation and from the universal indignation which the attempted reintroduction of them by advanced Anglicanism has aroused.

Great and important as were the questions which, from time to time, sprang up to engage the consideration of the members of the early Church, there was yet one on which the mind enjoyed a deep peace, and which seemed superior to all strife. This was the reality of the Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist. They had been taught, to use the words of St. Justin, that "the Eucharistic food . . . is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who became incarnate."* They professed their firm belief on this subject at each reception of the Divine Gift when, in answer to the words of the sacred ministers, "the Body of Christ, the Blood of Christ, the cup of life," they uttered the word, "Amen"—truly and really. That was the Food which entered their lips the first in the day; that which they regarded with so great a reverence as to esteem the accidental loss of a portion of it as a supreme misfortune; with that they blessed their eyelids previous to consuming; and the slightest act savouring of impropriety towards the vessels employed in its service caused them a very real pain.† The objectivity of the Body of our Lord in this

* Justin, *Apol.* 1. With regard to the opinion of St. Justin on the Eucharist, a Swedish writer, Axel Andersen, says (*Das Abendmahl in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten*, p. 83), "Now (*i.e.*, in Justin's time) when the words $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \tau\acute{o}\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ are heard, there is heard in them the assurance, $\tau\acute{o}\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\ \eta\ \sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\grave{\alpha}\ \mu\omicron\nu$, "this is my actual flesh" (*dies ist mein wirkliches Fleisch*), "which, it goes without saying, takes with it the blood." Andersen's own view is, it need hardly be stated, that the Eucharist is bread and wine; and he sets down this "materialised" view as a change which came over the Christian Church somewhere between the times of SS. Ignatius and Justin. In a moment, however, we shall see exactly why it is that St. Justin emphasises the word "flesh," both with regard to the Eucharist as also to the Word.

† The words said at the reception are to be found in the ancient Liturgies, notably in St. Clement's. The passage in the works of St. Augustine concerning Fasting Communion is well known. In Tertullian's *Ad Uxorem* (2) there appears a passage which, to say the least, insinuates that such was the practice in his days. Tertullian mentions the grave anxiety of which the falling of a portion of the Blessed Sacrament would be the occasion (*De Corona*). St. Cyril, in his celebrated Catechism on the Eucharist, says that the loss of the smallest portion would be looked on as the loss of one's own self. Both this latter writer and St. Gregory Naz. (*Or. De Matre Nonna*) alludes to the custom of blessing the various parts of

Sacrament became, moreover, a watchword, as it were, in the mouth of a Christian when confuting those heretics who, like the Docetæ, denied that the Word had become really incarnate, or that the person Jesus Christ was a man in anything else except in appearance. St. Ignatius the Martyr* feels that he cannot more clearly vindicate the reality of the Body which our Saviour took for our sakes than by emphasizing the fact that His flesh in the Eucharist is real and true ; while, on the other hand, the Docetæ will not acknowledge that the Body of Christ is really in the Eucharist because they deny that He ever possessed a real Body at all. Both parties perfectly understood each other. Both agreed that the Eucharist was either the real Flesh and Blood of Christ, or nothing. But, while the orthodox argued from the objectivity of the Body of Christ in the Eucharist to that of the Body assumed by the Word, the heretic, on the contrary, said that as, according to their principle, the Word took no real Flesh to start with, He had none to give in the Eucharist. They knew the power of St. Ignatius' argument, and simply cut the ground from under his feet by wiping their hands of it altogether. *Therefore*, they did not believe in the Eucharist, and refused either to receive it or to be present at its celebration. As with Ignatius, so also with Irenæus, the reality of the Body and Blood in this mystery is regarded as a first principle. How, he asks, in speaking of those who refused

the face previous to receiving the Eucharist. One of the accusations brought against St. Athanasius as a great crime was that of sacrilege towards the sacred vessels.

* "I have no delight in the food of corruption or in the delights of this life. I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ, who was of the seed of David ; and for a draught I desire his blood, which is love incorruptible" (*Ep. Romans*, Bishop Lightfoot's translation).

In his Epistle to the Smyrnæans he commences by making a profession of faith in the reality of the Flesh which the Word Incarnate took to Himself. The Lord Jesus Christ, he insists, was truly born of the Virgin Mary, and truly suffered, and was nailed up in the flesh for our sakes. He truly rose again in the flesh ; and the Saint alludes to the fact that the disciples touched Him to see that it was so. Then St. Ignatius warns the Smyrnæans against those who deny this ; who assert that our Lord did these things only in semblance ; who did not confess that our Lord was a bearer of flesh. He then speaks of their attitude to the Eucharist in the following words : "They abstain from Eucharist and from prayer *because* they allow not that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which flesh suffered for our sins, and which the Father of His goodness raised up" (*Ig. Smyr.*, Lightfoot).

to admit that the human form of each Christian will rise again incorruptible, can people be so misguided? The proof of the eventual incorruptibility of the body lies in the fact that it is nourished, and even grows, on Flesh and Blood, which is not itself subjected to corruption. These are the Body and Blood of Christ received in the Eucharist.* To assert that anything less than the Lord's own and true Body is in the Sacrament would have been to vitiate the whole of his argument; and the Saint, therefore, both in the use of his reasoning as also in so many words, clearly shows that he, as well as the orthodox of his day, does maintain that and nothing less.

These three saints, Ignatius, Justin, and Irenæus, are the very earliest of Christian witnesses. They lived in sub-apostolic times or nearly so. From their day up to the extreme limit of the first six centuries we find the same belief continually expressed and perpetually emphasized. It was firmly and deeply rooted in the mind and heart of the early Christian, forming, like the unity of God, a matter which he never dreamed of questioning. It was a cardinal truth; it might be taken as a basis for forming an opinion on some quite other subject; or it might be adduced as a reason for abstaining from doing that which, otherwise might be, with profit, attempted. St. Jerome† tells one

* "They say the flesh passes away to corruption, that flesh which has been nourished on the Body of the Lord and on His Blood (τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τὸν αἷματος αὐτοῦ τρεφόμενῃ). Let them either change their opinion or cease from offering up the aforesaid. But our opinion accords with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist confirms our opinion" (Irenæus, *Contra Hæreses*, Bk. 4, par. 251, Migne. In Book 5, par. 294, the Saint uses the same argument and makes the same emphatic assertions. He says: "The chalice, one of His creatures, He has confessed to be His real Blood (ἴδιον i.e., own=*proprium*), and from it He makes our blood wet; and the bread, one of His creatures, He strengthens into His real Body, and from it He makes our bodies grow. When, therefore, the chalice which was mingled, and that which has been made bread receive over themselves the word of God and become the Eucharist, the Body of Christ (the received Latin translation has "becomes the Eucharist of the Blood and Body of Christ"), and from these the substance of our flesh holds together—how do they say that the flesh does not receive the gift of God which is life everlasting, that flesh which has been nourished on the Body and Blood of the Lord and which is a member (μέλος) of the same?" As we have said above, the argument of the Saint rests absolutely on his conviction that the Eucharist is the real and substantial Body of our Blessed Lord.

† Saint Hier. Ep. 14 ad *Heliodorum*. "Absit ut de his quidquam sinistrum loquar, quia succedentes Apostolico gradui Christi Corpus sacro ore conficiunt."

of his correspondents that he is disinclined to speak much against priests, because, "with their sacred mouth they make the Body of Christ." St. Cyril of Alexandria appeals against Nestorius to the fact that it is the flesh not of an ordinary man, but the very Flesh of the Word which we receive in the Eucharist, and, therefore, he would seem to argue, the heretic must be wrong in asserting that the Man who suffered on Calvary was not truly the Word in human nature.* And St. Isidore of Pelusium triumphantly asks one who denies the divinity of the Holy Spirit how he can hold to such an opinion, seeing that, by means of the Holy Spirit, our Lord, from common bread causes "His very own Incarnate Body" to be present on the Altar.† This was one of the beliefs with which the Christian started. He heard about it, he was instructed in it, before he was admitted into the fold at all. St. Cyril assures his Catechumens that that which seems to be bread is not bread but the Body of our Lord, and that that which seems to be wine is not wine, but the Blood of that Master whose service they are about to enter.‡ In a feeling manner, full of that tenderness for which Chrysostom was so noted, that Saint appeals to those whom he is instructing to remember him when it shall be well with them. Like Joseph with the chief butler, he was sending them in to the King; but, unlike the chief butler, they were not about to offer the cup to Pharaoh; nay, rather "the King Himself would give a cup very precious into their hands, the solemn awfulness, the power, and the dignity of which, more than that of angels or men, the initiated knew, and they themselves

* St. Cyril, Alexandrin. Ep. 3, to Nestorius. Heurtley's edition. "So do we present ourselves at, and are sanctified by, the Holy Mysteries, becoming also partakers of the Holy Flesh and of the Precious Blood of Christ the Saviour of us all. Not receiving it as common (κοινή) flesh, God forbid, nor, indeed, as that of a man sanctified and brought into contact with the Logos—a mere union of excellence, that is to say, as having the Divine dwelling within him—(this was a part of the Nestorian heresy)—but (receiving it) as a truly life-giving Flesh and as belonging to the Logos Himself."

† Bk. I. Let. 109, *Letters St. Isidor, Pelus.*

‡ St. Cyril, Hier. *Catechesis Mystag.*, 4. "Learning this for certain, that that which appears to be bread is not bread—although to the taste it seems so—but the Body of Christ; and that that which appears to be wine is not wine—although the taste suggests it is—but the Blood of Christ."

should know a little later."* How was it possible that such instructions could have any other effect than that of an extreme reverence for the Eucharist, and a disposition to listen readily to what, at first sight, would seem the most wonderful language in relation to the subject? Nothing surprised them. They were astonished at nothing. When Augustine told them that on the night of the last supper our Divine Lord carried Himself in His hands, they saw that, according to their belief, it must, in an ineffable manner, have been true.† When Chrysostom assured them that Judas, on that solemn occasion, received the very Body which he sold for thirty pieces of silver, they were hearing only that which they knew must follow from the doctrine they so firmly held.‡ When Cyprian§ told them that the Eucharist itself, the Body and the Blood of Christ, would take revenge on the unworthy communicant; that he had known of cases happening under his eyes: that a child who received unworthily was grievously tormented, that an adult was struck dead, that the Eucharist was turned into a dead coal in the defiled hand that held it; this did not surprise them in the least. It was the Body of Christ. They would have been astonished not to have heard these things; whereas, on the contrary, the only thing which would have made them spring as one man to their feet in angry disagreement would have been the assertion that the Body was not there at all, but that simply bread and wine were. It is an attitude we are looking at; an atmosphere we are trying to examine. Do we see the least similarity between that attitude and the one which, from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the present, the Church of England has adopted towards this most venerable mystery? What

* *Chrysos. Catechesis*, 1, Migne's Ed., Vol. 2.

† St. Augustine, *Ennar in Ps. 33*, En. 2. "Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis, quando commendans ipsum corpus suum ait Hoc est Corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis."

‡ Chrysostom, Vol. II., Migne, *De Pro Judæ*. "And Judas was present when Christ said these things. This is the Body, O Judas, which thou soldest for thirty pieces of silver. This is the blood for which, only a short time before, thou madest the shameful compact with the infamous Pharisees. Christ did not refuse even after this to give the very blood which was sold to him who sold it, for the remission of sins had he wished it. For Judas was there, and partook of the holy table."

§ Cyprian, *De Lapsis*.

would the Primitive Church say to Anglicanism, could its leaders appear in the flesh, and were they called upon to address it? Would Cyprian, and Jerome, and Augustine, and Cyril, and both the two Eastern Gregories, as well as the Western one, "the Apostle of our nation," review with equanimity the overturned and desecrated altars, and the desolation sitting in the Holy Place; or would they be pleased with the flood of discourses in which, from Cranmer's time till now, the doctrine of the True Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist has been denied? Would they say to the Church of England: "Your action would have been ours; your faith was ours; you have faithfully represented our sentiments; you speak in our voice, and repeat our words"? For my part, I am persuaded that expressions the very opposite of all this would rise upon their lips. The bitter condemnation which the spirits of those he had slain are said to have poured into the dying ears of King Richard III. would be as the sweetest music compared with that which would issue from the mouth of Early Christianity, could it acquaint the modern "True Catholicism" of the established religion with its opinion concerning the doctrine and the deeds of the latter with regard to the Eucharist. The air of the two institutions is so strikingly different. Place by the side of that solemn ending in which S. Cyril of Jerusalem* admonishes his neophytes to make their hands into a throne for their Eucharistic Lord and King the words of Keble:

"O come to our Communion feast,
There present in the heart,
Not in the hands, the eternal Priest
Will His true Self impart."

* "Approaching, therefore, do not come (to Communion) with the palms of your hands stretched out, nor with your fingers separated from one another, but make your left hand into a throne for your right which is about to receive the King, and take the Body of Christ in the hollow of your hand, and then say the *Amen*. Having, therefore, sanctified carefully your eyes by touching them with the Holy Body, receive It, taking care not to lose anything of the same; for should you suffer any loss of it, in that you are damaged as were you to lose a part of yourself. For tell me, if someone gave you golden filings would you not keep hold of them, with the greatest care, and be on your guard against losing any of them, thus subjecting yourself to damage? How much more carefully, therefore, will you not keep a watchful eye on that which is more precious than gold and precious stones. Then, after you have received the Body of Christ, approach

Clearly, emphatically, and therefore consolingly, Cyril proclaims the objective Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist. On the contrary, the words of Keble are clear only where they are painful, for there they deny the Presence of Christ; and, where they seem to affirm some kind of a Presence, our consolation is immediately taken away by the reflection that those words are so vague, so dubious, so capable of being uttered quite irrespectively of the Eucharist, as to convey no very positive assertion of a Presence at all. This, indeed, is Anglicanism. She is clear enough when she denies that the Body and Blood of Christ are to be found present in this venerable Mystery — a denial which has issued from the lips of her ministers almost generally during four hundred years — but when, in any one of her formularies, or by the mouth of some advanced member of her clergy, she seems to assert that there is a divine kind of a something somewhere in connection with the Eucharist, the assertion is hazy, bewildering, and, for all practical purposes, meaningless. Denial after denial of the Real Presence is to be found in Anglican literature; denial after denial has followed one another from her pulpits; her laity almost universally deny it still. What would Chrysostom think of it, who assures us that while the priest is busy with his Lord in front of him in the Mass the angels bow down and worship the same Lord their King? * What would

the chalice of the Blood." St. Cyril gives equally minute instructions as to the manner in which his Catechumens are to approach to the Communion of the Precious Blood; it is to be received with "adoration and worship" (St. Cyril, Hier. *Catechesis* 5).

* In making this last reference to the works of St. Chrysostom I may remark that his views on this, or on any other matter, can hardly be without special interest to the members of the Church of England. They seem to give him a particular authority by reciting "the prayer of St. Chrysostom" both at the morning and evening service. No saint, either Greek or Latin, has so frequently, and with such repeated plainness, alluded to the real and substantial Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist as this marvellous Archbishop has done. Not only when speaking, as it were *ex professo*, on the subject as he does in one of his Homilies on St. Matthew's Gospel and in another connected with St. Paul's words on the B. Sacrament; not only in long passages, as in one of his Homilies to the people of Antioch and in one on the Book of Genesis, in both of which he has turned aside from the subject he had in hand to this; but in many short passages, suddenly, by way of illustration, the Real Presence is mentioned, directly or indirectly, showing how deep was the impression which the belief had made in the mind and the heart of the great Eastern Father of the Church. In private,

Augustine think of it, who assures us that because the Eucharist is the Body of Christ no one receives it unless he has first adored? * What would Cyprian and Firmilian think of it, who tell us that those who approach the Blessed Sacrament "touch the Body of Christ?" † Or Evagrius, ‡ who calls the consecrated Host the "Immaculate Body of Christ our God," and then proceeds to narrate a story in which a little child who, because of his innocency, had been called up to partake of it, was preserved afterwards untouched in the midst of a fiery furnace?

I think that they would be shocked and pained at the attitude which the Church of England has shown towards this the principal Mystery, as it is the most beautiful, of the Christian religion; and I cannot think that they would be otherwise than astounded on being informed that in this, as in other matters on which I have touched, it is *their* action and belief that Anglicanism lays claim to have followed out and to have imitated.

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too, he writes the same sentiments, some of the very strongest being in the *De Sacerdotio*—where he mentions the presence of angels adoring the Blessed Sacrament, tells us a story of one who had seen them, and narrates another story of their accompanying the Viaticum—and in his letter to Pope Innocent, where he speaks with horror of the sacrilege of some soldiers in entering into the holy place where the sacred Mysteries were kept and overturning the chalice of "the Most Holy Blood of Christ" on to their garments.

* "Et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, et ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit; nemo autem illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit." St. Augustine. Enn. in Ps. 98. Augustine's inquiry has been: how can we obey the command of the Psalm, Adorate scabellum pedum ejus? He proves from Scripture that the earth is God's footstool. How is the earth to be adored without impiety? He answers by saying that Christ took earth from earth—the flesh is earth, being made from the earth—He took flesh from the flesh of Mary, et quia in ipsa carne, etc., as above.

† Cyprian. *De Oratione Dominica* and Firmilian's letter to Cyprian contra Epistolam Stephani.

‡ Evagrius. *His. Ecc.*, Book iv., chap. 35.

ART. IV.—PHILOSOPHY—QUEEN AND
HANDMAIDEN.

Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum and A History of Classifications of the Sciences. By ROBERT FLINT, D.D., D.C.L., F.R.S.E. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Son. MCMIV.

Sociological Papers. By FRANCIS GALTON, E. WESTERMARCK, P. GEDDES, E. DURKHEIM, HAROLD H. MANN and V. V. BRANFORD. With an Introductory Address by JAMES BRYCE, President of the Society. Published for the Sociological Society. London: Macmillan & Co. 1905.

IN one of the numerous stanze of the Vatican Palace at Rome is to be seen a celebrated fresco painted by the hand of the great master of the Italian renaissance. In it is depicted a seated female figure, the noble brow and steadfast eyes of which present a striking type of deep and penetrating thought. Two cartels, supported by a smaller figure on either side, bear words pregnant with the thought in which, some fifteen centuries before the artist lived, the learned Tully had designated the "Love of Wisdom." The figure represents Philosophy, gazing with unfaltering eyes into the vast recesses of knowledge, pondering sublime truths. The inscription bears the two words "Causarum Cognitio"—the knowledge of causes. This is true science; and true of all the sciences, to a knowledge of whatever species or form of cause their efforts may be mainly directed. But it is not true of all in the same grade or degree of intensity:

for there is a certain hierarchical order and precedence in knowledge taken as a whole; and it is therefore, perhaps, not altogether Utopian to dream of a scheme which will help, be its assistance ever so little, in placing each apparently independent department of science in closer touch and relationship with the entire sum of human knowledge. It may be that no mortal brain can be found which is capable of containing all the sciences and all their manifold and complex relationships: for such a grasp of truth would imply all knowledge. But such a thought ought not to deter an attempt at a realization of the co-ordination of science: for who can say that any mortal brain can absorb all the truth of even one individual department of that nature with which it deals? We are satisfied with every advance we are able to record; and as the tabulation of results grows, so much the more is our desire spurred on to a further and fuller fruition. So it may well be—and, indeed, to every philosophically minded person, *must* be—in the question proposed by the author of the first volume noted at the head of this paper and laboured at, not altogether unsuccessfully, by the members of that Society whose printed transactions stand in the second place.

In reading modern, and especially modern English, philosophical works that have any real pretence to being serious contributions on the part of representative thinkers to the advancement of knowledge, one occasionally is very forcibly struck with the curious convergence, from many various points of view, upon that system of thought which to Catholic students is so familiar. Philosophy, in its latest garb, as I have had occasion to remark elsewhere, is stretching out unsatisfied hands towards an ideal. It is curious to note that it is approaching—and, if I read its exponents aright, approaching altogether unconsciously—our own traditional system. It is interesting to observe the minute gradations of these converging paths. It is not slightly encouraging to follow up, in modern expressions of the deepest philosophic thought, a fairly consistent line of reasoning—or, to express the truth more accurately, an ever intensifying tone and trend—towards

what we know so well and appreciate at so high a valuation as the system of Scholastic Philosophy.

Nothing, perhaps, is calculated to appeal to our sense of fittingness and proportion as an *argumentum ad hominem*, more than the unsolicited testimony of those who, by education, training and personal circumstances, are aliens to our own habits and modes of thought, to our systematic interpretation of external nature and of self, to our phrase and terminology, rendered succinct and precise as it is by its own continuity and consistency of purpose. Nothing more than the unconscious witness which such writers from time to time bear to the truth and adequacy of our Catholic philosophical heritage can console the loyal scholastic and make amends for the intellectual isolation to which so-called science and progress once strove to condemn him. No Catholic, trained in the schools which represent and continue the best tradition of philosophical development, from Anselm to Thomas Aquinas and from the Angelic Doctor to the present day, can fail to be interested in the growth of these more recent English grafts upon Hegelianism, and, at the same time, encouraged to hope that the moment is at length drawing near when we may present, in a more or less popular form, and sure of a respectful hearing, our traditional Scholasticism to the most modern and up-to-date representatives of English thought.

It can be easily understood how the great political and religious disruption of the sixteenth century tended to divorce later thought from its immediately preceding Catholic progenitor. It is not necessary to call the Reformation in to explain the discrepancy. Before the Christian world was torn assunder by religious differences, our own schools had given the impetus to a dissatisfied spirit by the amazing and annoying hopelessness exhibited in their speculative mania.

The immediate successors of Thomas and Bonaventure and Scotus paved the way that led to disintegration; just as the successors of Socrates and Plato and the Stagyrite opened the door to a troop of decadent thinkers relying too much upon the *ipse dixit* of their so-called master.

for any claim they made upon the attention of an anxious audience.

From the minute beginnings of Greek thought to the brilliant advance in method and in doctrine displayed by three of the greatest and most subtle thinkers the world has ever seen—Socrates, Plato and Aristotle—something like three centuries had elapsed. The tide of reason had surged up to a very high point. With Aristotle the golden age is closed. Whatever the ultimate causes were that interposed a breakwater to the flow of thought—war, conquest, the political disruption of the nation—the post-Aristotelian period of philosophical history is marked by greater diffusiveness of effort, less intense energy in constructive thought, poverty of conception, and a distinctly pragmatic trend in the whole region of Philosophy.

Still, I may perhaps be exceeding the limits of fair historical criticism in comparing the later scholastics to the degenerate followers of the Portico or the Academy; and the purposes of illustration may have made me write the latter too servile plagiarists of the authorities they quote. There were those certainly who fed the lamp of knowledge with new-pressed oil, even when seemingly vain speculation was most in the ascendant. Moreover, it is hardly possible to blame the laudable intention of those seemingly little minds who debased the grander conceptions of their predecessors in a purely speculative application of their principles.

Perhaps nothing else was to be expected of them. Thought rarely, if ever, remains stationary. It advances or it recedes. And to blame the successors of those to whom a popular valuation rightly ascribed the significant titles of "Angelic" or "Seraphic," is really a censure that betrays its origin in a limited and a bigoted mind. We could, perhaps, scarcely hope to find a St. Thomas or a St. Bonaventure the immediate forbears of thinkers more acute and penetrating than themselves.

There are periods in which the flow of human thought seems to have reached its high-water mark, leaying upon the shore of the human understanding vast treasures gathered from the illimitable ocean of truth. And to

them, almost invariably, succeed the waves of the ebb, repeating in more or less identical forms the contributions of new but decreasing surges of intellectual activity.

I have been taken to task* for stating that St. Thomas left little to be solved in the majestic and systematic epitome of reasoning which he has left to us and to future generations; that it would seem that little could be added to his work, save by way of comment. I now submit that, though the progress of the sciences may possibly enlarge the boundaries of our thought and give us an additional insight into those eternally present problems that are as old as thinking man himself, still the discoveries of the experimental sciences are not likely to change or, to any appreciable extent, to alter the deeper and more fundamental conclusions to which he, in the depth of his intellectual penetration, has already led us.

The empirical sciences are constantly bringing fresh material into view. They enormously increase the data from which a more general science is inductively formed. But they have not, at any rate up to the present, succeeded in causing the downfall of one single principle of *Philosophia Prima*; nor is it at all likely that they will ever be able to do so. For they work upon a different plane; they employ different methods; and though, as I have said, they enormously increase the wealth of data at our disposal, those data are always found, in the long run, to fall naturally into their place under the broader and more comprehensive principles of the superior science.

The new learning that has sprung up during the last few decades does not so much constitute new sciences as new branches and applications and combinations of already pre-existing ones. It has indicated new points about which observations may be advantageously grouped. It has generalized around these central points by means of new aggregations of fact derived from experiment. Generally speaking, its aim has been analysis rather than synthesis; and its effect division rather than combination: so that experimental science to-day presents the aspect of a great

* In the *Catholic Review of Reviews*.

number of highly specialized departments splitting up the specific parent science, to which each belongs, into many sub-divisions.

This analytic tendency undoubtedly has its advantage. It provides minute subject-fields for specialists and thus promotes their most careful and thorough investigation. It prevents, to some extent at least, the waste of energy that is not infrequently incident upon studies laid upon larger and broader lines. But it also has its attendant disadvantages. It is apt to be a disintegrating factor in the unity of thought as a whole. It engenders a carelessness and a suspicion as to the results attained in other departments of knowledge. More than all else, it has indubitably brought about in the minds of specializing scientists a grave distrust of metaphysics and purely theoretic philosophy in any shape or form.

In individual instances, perhaps, it has produced the opposite effect. Among eminent and representative scientists, Sir Oliver Lodge and Professor Ray Lankester are cases in point. But the findings of the former in the domain of abstract thought, while a thorough-going testimony to the office and scope of metaphysics, are hardly likely to prove in any sense ultimately satisfying; and the latter simply refuses to connect science and what he calls *Theology* in any one comprehensive and systematic scheme.

And all scientists are not eminent. For every one that has—to put it at the lowest—a sneaking respect for metaphysical speculation, a hundred are to be found for whom it is an absurd misdirection of valuable mental power, a mere sophistical logomachy, with no claim to being either a scientific or a true branch of knowledge.

And yet, apart from the modern estimate of the mere empirical specialist, it has always held an honoured and a distinguished place in the learning of the human race. To such a position Dr. Flint, in the book before us, seeks to restore what he calls Philosophy from the desuetude into which it has unhappily fallen among a certain class of thinkers, otherwise for the most part studious, learned, and even brilliant men. His pleading in the first part of

his *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum*, though needlessly and quite inexplicably duplicated—it is repeated almost word for word, even to the extent of whole pages—is indeed valuable as claiming a place in the *ensemble* of the sciences for a philosophy which science has too long neglected and has even, at times, seen fit studiously to ignore. Nor does he lay claim to a place for philosophy on sufferance of the sciences now in possession. He demands a regulative, directive, regal sphere—a recognized position at the head—or at the basis, whichever way one pleases to consider it—of the *ensemble* of sciences and disciplines that go to form man's knowledge. It is to be hoped that this essay—for the first sixty-three pages of the volume partake more of the nature of a tentative advance of view than of an authoritative statement—will prove an illuminating and fruitful incentive to the many scientists to whom any theory bearing Dr. Flint's name must be of no inconsiderable weight. There is much, it must be avowed, that might fall under a legitimate criticism in this plea for the recognition of the royal prerogative of Philosophy, but the nobility and excellence of the aim must excuse me from entering here upon any minute and detailed examination of the method by which our author seeks to support his contention. One statement, however, I cannot pass over altogether without comment.* “ . . . there are even scientists and philosophers who treat of ordinary human knowledge as if it were the primary source and oldest form of knowledge. Of course that is a very great error, one which assumes that there was no *animal intelligence or knowledge* on earth before mankind appeared upon its surface, and that the deepest roots of consciousness and thought were brought into the world with the advent of paleolithic man or a primeval Adam. There is not only no warrant for the assumption, but absolutely conclusive evidence to the contrary.

“There was *animal consciousness* on earth for incalculable ages before the *genus homo* appeared on it.

* The italics are mine throughout.

Human psychology instead of being the whole of psychology is a very small portion of it. There is a psychology possible of far vaster extent—a comparative psychology, the aim of which should be comprehensive enough to take account of all kinds of creatures that have lived suffered, and died on earth, and capable of realising aright what their experiences, their inner, as well as outer, histories have been. Its task may be a very difficult one, but it cannot be reasonably held to be an impossible one. Why not? Just because man has in his own inmost nature the key to all animal consciousness. In every state of consciousness he has what are called feeling, knowing and willing, or, in other words, sensation, cognition, and volition. *But so has every animal, even the least and meanest.*"

The curious repetition in the text of this excellent thesis, before alluded to, leads one to hope that the words given *verbatim* have some other interpretation than that which, at first sight, obviously suggests itself—that, perhaps, the author of *Theism* and *Agnosticism* has been less careful in his choice of words than he might have been. For the essay part of his volume shows traces of somewhat hurried work.

These are not the only paragraphs to which exception might be taken, but I forbear further quotation, content to read in the whole the obvious lesson which the author seeks to inculcate.

The second portion of the volume, consisting of 273 pages, is devoted to a summary of those classifications and co-ordinations of the sciences which have been advanced, more or less tentatively, by philosophers or scientists ever since man began to speculate as to his knowledge. Here we have, ranging from the time of Plato down to the present day, a goodly number of attempts at classification laid before us. As a whole, each synopsis is carefully and painstakingly made and well presented to the reader. One is naturally prepared to find a not altogether inconsiderable portion of such a work devoted to the post-Baconian systems. Indeed, more than four-fifths of this portion of *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum* are given

to a consideration of them. The remaining thirty pages embrace Plato and Descartes—a tolerably brief summary of many exceedingly important and epoch-marking theories.

What is most surprising, perhaps, is the extraordinarily rapid and insufficient glance taken of the scholastic system of philosophy. In some five pages, almost entirely devoted to Hugo of St. Victor, St. Bonaventure and Vincent of Beauvais, Albertus Magnus, St. Thomas and Dante are merely mentioned in passing as possessed of “minds of the largest capacity”; while, though Descartes and Rosmini, for example, have considerable paragraphs consecrated to their views and expositions of the subject, there is no standard scholastic of the traditional school mentioned among the later representatives of learned thought. One is hardly prepared for this.

Though, indeed, the particular problem which occupies Dr. Flint's attention may not be one that has found any very detailed treatment at the hands of the later scholastics, a general scheme of knowledge, hardly less detailed than some which he sees fit to present, has been in the possession of the schools, as a part of its Aristotelian heritage, from very early times. And it is hardly fair to present what I take leave to call the most brilliant period of philosophic thought in the persons of those who were, after all, mystics rather than philosophers. The very importance of the scholastic movement, the great weight attached to the names of its leading originators and exponents, the position which it attained in the intellectual world, and the vast influence which it has never since ceased to exert in forming the thought and moderating the method of an incalculable number of individuals—all these things claim for its even least important results and teachings a more than merely cursory study. Even if nothing had been precisely formulated upon the subject with which Dr. Flint is concerned in this volume, something to the point might have been advantageously gained from a close study of the methods employed and topics treated by the bulk of the scholastics.

It is true that the concrete experimental sciences had attained no great or recognised eminence at a time when

all efforts were directed to such problems as those of the *universals* or *de potentia et actu*. Neither did the empiric sciences cross and recross as they do at present. There was, for example, no stereo-chemistry, no comparative embryology. Nor was there any considerable wealth of experimental data on the strength of which the boundaries and limitations of definite sciences might be very accurately drawn. But it can hardly be claimed, or even seriously put forward, that any one experimental science by itself, or any number of such combined and taken together, could alone be a sufficient guide as to the order, correlation, or schematization of the sciences as a whole.

Indeed, the claim is not made; and our author very properly gives his support to our own consistent traditional position—that the supreme ruling science is no other than Philosophy, the extent of which term I leave his own words to define.

Dr. Flint himself divides knowledge broadly and as a whole into (1) *ordinary knowledge*, which is "the kind of knowledge common to all sane men, but also such knowledge as is often extremely indistinct, confused, and superficial. It is not strictly definable and generally very vague as to its contents. The nature of it is common not to men only but to all animals. It is distinguishable from science by its lack of precision and exactness and from philosophy by its lack of comprehensiveness and profundity." (2) *Scientific knowledge* is of a higher type, though, from the words just quoted, it seems rather in Dr. Flint's mind to be a mere prolongation or projection of the former. It includes "a search for the reasons and causes of things as well as of mere perceptions of them, or, in Greek phraseology, not merely the $\theta\epsilon\tau\iota$ but also the $\delta\iota\omicron\tau\iota$ of phenomena. And further, all scientific knowledge is knowledge of a specific kind, and differentiated from knowledge not of that kind." (3) Upon the third plane our author places *philosophic knowledge*. It is fundamental, comprehensive, direct, dealing with "the three final existences . . . God, the world, and self. Its ways or modes of manifestation and action are:—(1) Positive or Phenomenological; (2), Critical or Epistemological; (3), Metaphysical or Theoretical; and (4), Practical;

or it may suffice to say simply the positive, the critical, the metaphysical, and the practical."

It will be observed that Philosophy, which is to be the *Scientia Scientiarum*, the regent of all knowledge, is here broken up into four distinct divisions based, naturally enough, upon the object, the mode, and the end of knowledge. But such a division, it appears to me, is not a very strikingly philosophical one, nor likely to further the purpose for which it was framed. To attain any real unity a unique point of reference must be chosen, not a fourfold; a single aspect of a single science, not a multiplex.

It might, of course, be possible to refer all departments of knowledge to one or other of these four great aspects and then to correlate them. But surely it would be at the same time a simpler and more orderly process—if it be a possible one—to select one supreme science as, at the same time, a point of reference and a ruling and directing factor in the whole region of thought and experience. Without some one such science any division and distribution will run the grave risk of being arbitrary and unconvincing, even if it be at all within the range of possibility.

I do not wish to be unduly critical, especially with regard to so excellent an endeavour as is that which Dr. Flint manifests in his work: but I cannot refrain from expressing the thought that his broad division of knowledge is in some aspects, and, above all, for the end he has in view, an unsatisfactory one. Ordinary, scientific, and philosophical knowledge are not so different in kind, I venture to think, as his division would lead us to suppose. The forms, and even the methods, of scientific, as well as of philosophical knowledge, are to be observed, sometimes in a very strongly marked degree, in the most ordinary knowledge of which we have any acquaintance whatever. Of course, in using the term *knowledge* at all, I must altogether deny any supposition in which it would cover at the same time human understanding and mere brute cognition. When we speak of animal intelligence and the understanding of brutes, we are using the terms in an analogical or metaphorical sense. No distinct trace of such processes as

the operations of reason, intelligence and understanding in man have ever been observed in animals other than men. But I do not altogether think that Dr. Flint means to attribute any conscious understanding to animals or to extend to them even a low and imperfect form of true intelligence. If he does—to save a tedious digression upon the use of words—his first division of knowledge must be altogether dispensed with and a non-ordered mass of rude sense-pictures substituted for it.

From the one group to the other the transition is easy. Indeed, the three overlap and might be said to be, as it were, concentric. In any one, considered separately, so many gradations of comprehension and depth, causal apperception and ordered regularity, are apparent, that the threefold division might just as well be multiplied indefinitely according to the number of thinking subjects in whom knowledge is found; and thus a merely relative value is to be attached to the apparently exclusive disjunction put forward. Surely, in any attempt to co-ordinate and systematize knowledge as a whole, the standard must be an absolute one if any really certain or valuable results are to follow. It is preferable to regard knowledge as a complete unity, even if, as a matter of fact, it is never possessed as such, and seek for that form or manifestation of it which is best adapted on its own merits to be at once the guarantee of itself and of the whole, to be the point of reference to which all possible gradations can be in some sense logically related. In any scheme of such a nature there would be crossings and re-crossings innumerable, relations and inter-relations and subalternations among the variously subordinated parts; but the fact that complication and difficulty is to be expected ought not to blind the student to the excellent nature of any obtainable result. Indeed, in the tentative scheme which, with a certain amount of hesitation and diffidence, I shall venture to place before my readers, a great many obviously existing relations will have to be dispensed with altogether. I can only trust that someone better versed in the tradition of the schools than myself will offer criticism and correction, and that the present article may be an inducement to a more

careful and comprehensive study of the question from a scholastic point of view.

Before passing on, however, to the development of a scheme for the harmonic systematization of the sciences under the directive and regulative presidency of the supreme natural science of metaphysics, it will be of interest and of real utility to consider the work attempted by the Sociological Society. This organization, hardly more than a year old, "aims at affording a common ground on which workers from all fields and schools concerned with social phenomena may meet—economist and historian, psychologist and moralist, anthropologist and archæologist, geographer and naturalist; as also physician and alienist, criminologist and jurist, hygienist and educationalist, philanthropist and social reformer, politician and cleric." It aims, in short, at a practical outcome of synthesis, the result of investigation and discussion on the part of specialists in the various branches of science, to all of whom it appeals. As the closing pages of *Philosophy as Scientia Scientiarum* deal with sociology, and indeed refer to the very society whose *Papers* stand at the head of the present article, it is perhaps not altogether out of place to make some reference here to its achievements as shown in the printed papers which form the record of its first year's work. We shall at any rate gather something as to the main lines upon which modern sociologists are attempting to construct a new and synthetic science, the name of which, even, has not had a longer historical life than the few decades separating Auguste Comte from our own time.

First of all, the end in view seems to be eminently a practical one—the betterment of existing social conditions. Subsidiary to this, and yet fundamentally connected with it, is a profound understanding of the history of social development, derived from the intellectual and practical achievements of man, with, as a not insignificant result, an ordered plan of the inter-relation of the social sciences, together with the inclusion within the same plan of all other sciences and arts which are the result of human activity in any given direction.

As such, of course, the new science of sociology might be

represented by a vast diagram, in which all human knowledge is tabulated and recorded. But is it not rather of the nature of an historical record or a statistical tabulation than a true co-ordination or inter-relation of separated scientific departments? In the treatment of the various subjects included in *Sociological Papers*—"Eugenics," "Civics," "Life in an Agricultural Village in England," "On the Relation of Sociology to the Social Sciences and to Philosophy," etc., no very clear and cogent argument is brought forward to show the claim of sociology to be the *deus ex machina* in any new arrangement and classification of the sciences. The claim is made, indeed . . . "a controlling science of sociology is, as Comte showed, a necessary postulate of science itself. Traditionally, a problem that has belonged more to philosophy than to science—the classification of the sciences—is thus, in one at least of its aspects, essentially sociological. But, in passing over from philosophy to sociology, the problem necessarily takes on a more specifically historical aspect, for, as an evolutionist, the sociologist treats it not as a mere systemisation of contemporary experience, but as a phase of a continuing process, which has to be carried back as far as historical data reach, and also projected forward into the immediate future. The sociological evolutionist is concerned primarily with origins, but ultimately and supremely with ideals."

Now, as far as a practical outcome of a decidedly beneficial nature to the human race is concerned, such a proposition is useful and encouraging. Waiving altogether for the moment the question of any substantial evolution, it is, without a doubt, practically useful to have such a profound understanding "of the history of the successive modifications" of environment as will enable new measures to be inaugurated, with a knowledge which practically ensures their success, for the betterment of social conditions. But this is the study of history. It cannot, surely, prove to be the fixed point which justifies the existence of the sciences. On the contrary, it merely points to them and says that they exist. It cannot be the touchstone reducing them to order. For where can it originate its plan?

For such a point, I venture to think, one must necessarily turn to an absolute science, changeless and secure; a science that lies at the root of all knowledge, and to which it is not wholly impossible that the subordinate sciences should in some fashion be related. And such a science, I should imagine with Dr. Flint, is philosophy; and, moreover, philosophy taken in one of its most specialized senses, that, namely, of metaphysics.

Any Catholic philosophical text-book gives the main lines of the subordination of purely rational knowledge in the Aristotelian scheme. We have an excellent reason for broadly dividing the sciences and allocating to each its place in the following hierarchy:—

METAPHYSICS.

MATHEMATICS.

EXPERIMENTAL OR EMPIRICAL SCIENCE.

The basis of this subordination is not an arbitrary one. It depends upon the natural and fundamental difference in the particular grade of abstraction from materiality which characterizes each. All the experimental sciences consider matter and the properties of matter. They are at once material and concrete. The purely mathematical abstract from matter and from all qualities of matter save quantity, discrete or continuous; and, as such, possess principles and deduce conclusions independent not only of matter, but also of time. Metaphysics advances still further into the realm of abstractions and considers being, as being, neither limited to matter, nor to quantity; and consequently absolute or abstracted from every possible material characteristic.

This difference may, perhaps, be instanced by examples. The chemist deals with the visible, ponderable, odorous, tangible, qualities of the bodies with which he is mainly concerned. His results, both synthetic and analytic, are governed by what he sees, feels, smells; or by what, at any rate, he is able to calculate by mechanical means. The pure geometer has nothing tangible or visible in his calculations: and if he uses picture-diagrams or algebraic

formulae it is only as convenient counters which save him the trouble of sustained thought. He knows well that his representative triangles and circles are really neither triangular nor circular. They are mere representations, serving his purpose in demonstrating a general conclusion or applying some particular principle. His *formulae* are true for every case; and, having found them, he uses them in subsequent work to save himself the trouble of obtaining their results afresh. But the mind of the metaphysician, dispensing, as he indeed must, with all picture-representation and convenient *formulae* (except the words which mnemonically denote his results), soars triumphantly above the lower levels and thinks of being pure and simple and of the structural, or analogical, integrant divisions of entity. His concepts and conclusions are far more elusive than those of the empiricist or of the mathematician; but they are far more certain in themselves than those of either; for they are not only abstract from time and place, but even from conditions and accidents conceivably present even only in time and space.

It should hardly be necessary to seek to justify this broadly hierarchical division. It is that of Aristotle, at any rate as far as theoretic philosophy is concerned; of Hugo of St. Victor (to quote only those authors instanced by Dr. Flint); of Descartes (if we except mathematics, of which he makes no mention in the only passage in his works in which he explicitly treats of this subject—probably his mathematical treatment of the entire sum of knowledge led him to consider the science as necessarily suppositional, rather than integrant); of Leibnitz (who, in the main, adopted the scholastic division); and of Gioberti (who, at any rate, approaches to the traditional plan from his quite novel standpoint). To avoid a compendious citation, it is, briefly, that of the entire Catholic school; and persists to-day in the teaching of such modern representative men as Lorenzelli, Remer and De Mandato.

But, accurate and excellent as it is, it fails to satisfy on account of its excessively broad and comprehensive classification. It is felt that a more detailed scheme is wanted, a scheme that allocates to each individual science

a unique place in the hierarchy of knowledge, and which will permit, also, of the insertion of newly-formed sciences when they arise. In other words, an outline map of knowledge is required upon which all the sciences at present known may find a place, and in the outline of which sufficient room is left for the inclusion of new sciences or new branches of actual sciences. Such a map would be, undoubtedly, no easy one to draw : and perhaps one may be pardoned beforehand for any undue excess of zeal in roughly attempting to sketch one out. I hardly need to premise, as a sort of apology, that I am acutely aware of my deficiencies, and advance the following scheme more as a butt for criticism than as any definite solution of a vexed and perplexing question.

If the general and received outline of the subordination of the sciences be correct, it is at any rate a plausible and perhaps a safe basis for an attempt in the right direction. To classify the experimental sciences in any really satisfactory way, moreover, some common and universal principle is to be sought for which runs consistently through the *ensemble*. The theory of evolution has been advanced as the most consistent explanation of certain observations, mainly of a morphological character, and as an aspect of nature to which all the natural empiric sciences can be reduced. It is a theory that has the merit at least of being popular—so popular, indeed, that its deficiencies are almost forgotten or overlooked. But it cannot well, quite apart from the manifest *lacunae* for which it is not yet able to give any coherent account, be squared with the theorems of more abstract science. This is hardly the place to discuss the theory at length, but the mere fact that it is inconsistent with such a principle as that of causality, for example, renders it, like the atomic theory, almost entirely useless for the purpose for which it is proposed to employ it. On the other hand, the ontological doctrine of causes, and especially of the two intrinsic causes, matter and form—not, be it noted, a theory of how things came to be what they are, but of how they are what they are—seems to offer a more possible solution. Knowledge, as the resultant of a cause-cognition, can be

arranged in categories parallel to the gradation of formal causes. This suggestion, if ever adopted, would have the double advantage of offering the means to reach a graded succession of sciences, in much the same way as the theory of evolution attempts to offer it, and of furnishing, at the same time, a solid philosophical basis for more detailed classification.

A very modern attempt indeed to find a common principle running through all nature and knowledge is to be found in the last number of the *Hibbert Journal* (January, 1905). Mr. Newman Howard, the author of an article bearing the title "The Warp of the World," advances a most curious and ingenious theory. Those of the curious who have read the ten chapters on numbers in Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, part ix., "Pythagoras," or have made any study of the Pythagorean doctrines, will be forcibly struck with the resemblance to them shown in this exposition of reality and explanation of science.

The fate of theories is a curious thing. How many have altogether passed out of existence! What a number sleep their long sleep in forgotten volumes known only to the industrious worm! Sometimes there is a resurrection; or the corpse of a long dead hypothesis is galvanized into a life of twitching and contortion by a new mental current. There are not a few, too, bloodless and spiritless ghosts that walk disguised among the living, so carefully tricked out in borrowed finery of words and rhetoric that they cheat even the most wary.

In poetic language, through which the bristle of scientific fact pricks and goads the mind, Mr. Howard advances his theory. The numerical relationships are the all important. Pythagoras will have a new incarnation as—he asserted it—he had had many before he taught at Crotona. Whether this old-new theory, bolstered up by newer facts, through whose long dried-up veins new scientific blood is being pumped, will take the thinking scientific world by storm and oust evolution from the first place in present popularity is yet to be seen. Stranger things have happened. But may one not prophesy that it is not in

mathematics, notwithstanding the mystic powers and actual relationships of the Triad, the Tetrad and the Pentad, that the central point of a pan-scientific co-ordination is to be found?

A scheme that takes into account the empiric sciences alone is not by any means a systematization of knowledge as a whole: and though the theory of hylomorphism offers a possible basis for the classification of those sciences that have to do with material beings, it leaves out of account much that ought to be embraced in such a scheme. Suppose we begin, then, with pure metaphysics, considering as its object entity *as* entity, in the highest and completest grade of abstraction. The integrant partition of this science gives us the three sub-sciences of ontology, natural theology, and psychology. Of these the first, ontology, will treat of the analogical division of being and of the transcendentals (which, in any scheme, will cross over into logic and other departments of the concrete sciences); of the broad distinctions of potency and act, essence and existence, substance and accidents (again crossing over in relation with almost all the sciences); as well as of the causes of entity, one of which, the final, will give a partial basis for ethics. Natural theology will be related with the transcendental *good* and with psychology to ethics, politics, etc.; while psychology will find itself in manifold relationships with many of the other departments of knowledge included in the scheme.

In deference to the usual and orderly arrangement of the schools, logic will come first, as directive, and ethics last, as the practical outcome, of the whole: but it must not be forgotten that, even so, many relationships will be found to exist between both these sciences and those included between them. Logic, for example, relies on metaphysics; and the laws of thought can be advantageously referred to psychology, just as the laws of sensation to physiology. Ethics, too, has no place as a science at all if it be not orderly—and it cannot well order itself—and if it have not as a basis fundamental principles of a more abstract nature than its own.

Again, when we pass from the science of entity or

pure being to that of entity considered as corporeal (a division in the *arbor porphyriana* of substance, which belongs to and is based upon ontology), we find on examination of the essential composition of body the properties of corporeal substance, quantity, motion, time, place, etc., founding mathematics, mechanics, etc.; of the finality and activity of natural bodies manifested in substantial generations or alterations, from which consideration, taken in connection with mathematics especially, we can derive a basis for chemistry, optics, electricity, etc.

And lastly, if to entity and corporeal entity be super-added the note of life, in the natural grades of living beings and their dead bodies, are to be found partial bases at least, for organic chemistry, botany, zoology, physiology, anthropology (psychology); and when man is considered in the social aggregate, together with the sciences which he has acquired and turned to practical account as arts or crafts, we have a basis for all sociological studies.

I have obviously left out a great deal that ought to be included in such a scheme: but it is rather from the difficulty of presenting it in any succinct fashion than from lack of material. In every case, however, the individual science will be distinguished from all others, not by the objects of which it treats, but by the medium which it employs in its demonstrations. This is the doctrine of St. Thomas (1a, 2ae, liv. II., ad 4; and C.G., II., cap 4, with de Sylvestris's comment) and of the schools generally; but it does not forbid or exclude a reference to the material objects for purposes of classification or systematization.

But, it may be objected, all these sciences do not flow from metaphysics nor from *Philosophia Prima*; and therefore such a scheme is valueless. Metaphysical conceptions and truths are necessary guarantees of knowledge, but no relationship by which a systematized plan can be worked out ensues. The difficulty, I think, arises principally from the fragmentary state of our present knowledge. It is not an absolute, but a relative, one. The habit of mind known as science is derived from a partially realized object presented to the intelligence. Yet, where knowledge is fairly complete and entire, it is not impossible to perceive

a certain subalternation in the scientific hierarchy. Besides the great Aristotelico-scholastic division of knowledge already given, there ought to be no obstacle in the way of accepting a natural subalternation, such as that, for example, of optics to geometry, or of mineralogy and botany to natural philosophy. The objects of the two latter subalternate sciences are and form specifically different divisions of natural philosophy; while that of optics adds to the purely geometrical object the notes of a sensible and a luminous nature.

Any perfect and all-embracing knowledge, such as we ascribe to God, would be perfectly systematized, even in the single act of *knowing* in which it would consist. If we were able to know all things as they are, our science would doubtless be related in the same perfectly orderly manner in which external reality is related. Must we not, then, turn to *being*, to *corporeal being*, to *living corporeal being*, and so on for the graded plan of our intellectual knowledge? Dare we not think that the mirror of abstraction reflects the objects of external reality in the same orders and hierarchies in which they exist? If not, must we not candidly take refuge in a mysticism which unifies knowledge only in proportion as we grasp the vision of God, and obtains a concept of complete unification only in contemplating God's vision of Himself? Our partial views blind us and distort the regularity of what might be a consistent whole.

What is to be said of the knowledge of truth revealed? A Catholic, certainly, must admit it into the general scheme of knowledge—as irrefragable truth, as an incentive to thought, as a stimulus to investigation, as a safeguard against error, as a corrective of false perspective in the natural order, and as an earthly foretaste of a more perfect science beyond the confines of matter.

But it need not and does not enter the scheme as a disturbing factor. Its origin is from Him who planned and created the faculties by which we apprehend natural truth and carve out and shape all those human sciences we possess. It is complementary and not destructive, perfectly compatible with that system of philosophy which claims

the right to regulate and moderate the sciences subordinated to it by nature, and before whose great underlying principles, either purely metaphysical or ontological, they should all, in their division and, in many cases, aloofness from each other, bow the knee.

Hence Philosophy has two great and worthy offices to perform. It has to direct and regulate all the arts and sciences which necessarily presuppose the truth of its first principles and conclusions as the guarantee and basis of their own further investigation: and, in this role, Philosophy plays the part of a queen ruling her subjects, and, by relating them all to herself, establishing each in its proper relationship to the others. The other office—that of Handmaiden—is no less noble: for here Philosophy has to demonstrate those verities that are presupposed by revelation—the existence of God, the immortality and freedom of the human soul, for example; to illustrate supernatural truth by means of analogies and metaphors drawn from nature; and to defend the dogmas of the faith by those keen weapons, forged by dialectic from purely natural principles, which, in the long run, will prevail against the stoutest mail of error. And thus the *Causarum Scientia* may lay just claim to a unique place in the sum total of knowledge human and divine; and, while offering a central point for the co-ordination of the sciences, be described not inaptly as the Queen and the Handmaiden of the whole.

F. AVELING.

ART. V.—THE HOLY CITY OF KAIROUAN.

ALTHOUGH within an easy day's journey by railway from the cosmopolitan port of Tunis, Kairouan is still little known to the travelling Englishman ; yet its history, its architecture, and its brilliant, almost unspoiled, Oriental life make the Holy City of the old Beylik of Tunis perhaps the most interesting place in the whole of Northern Africa.

On leaving the little junction of Kalâa Srira, which lies a few miles to the north of Susa, the Hadrumetum of antiquity and the Sousse of to-day, once more a flourishing sea-port under French auspices, the railway runs for some distance through a land of rich yellow earth set with olive groves, where the curious spectacle may be noted of camels drawing the antiquated wooden ploughs of the country. This district of cereals and olive-trees is soon passed, and the train enters the plain of Kairouan, itself a part of the Es Sahel, a vast expanse of rolling prairie, half-cultivated, stony and featureless save for an occasional fragment of some forgotten Roman city that has survived the centuries of decay and destruction. Camels with their attendant donkeys are sighted feeding on the coarse herbage ; dingy encampments of nomadic Arabs, protected by their ever-barking pariah watch-dogs, are now and again passed ; whilst large flocks of the Arab fat-tailed sheep are seen browsing here and there in the more favourable spots. Not a tree or bush breaks the monotony of the plain, which extends in dreary majesty to the distant rocky hills that are the last and most easterly of the outlying spurs of the great Atlas range. At length the Holy City is descried lying like a white streak on the face

of the brown desert, its long walls topped by innumerable towers and domes, and dominated at their northernmost point by the huge lighthouse-like minaret of the Grand Mosque. It is hard to conceive a more desolate, and at the same time more unpractical, site for a great city than the central point of this treeless, arid plain; yet there is a grandeur in the loneliness and desolation of Kairouan, so that the chief charm of the Holy City is not dependent, like so many Eastern towns, on its surrounding groves and running waters, but on its wide and solitary views:

"It sees the vision splendid of the sunlit plains extended,
And by night the wondrous glory of the everlasting stars."

Realising beforehand then that Kairouan is a treeless oasis, the traveller will not expect to find verdure or gushing water-courses, as in the better known sacred city of Sidi Okba in the Sahara. Except for some ancient thickets of prickly pear and a few stunted trees outside the walls, planted since the French occupation (mostly pepper, mimosa and eucalyptus), there is here a complete absence of all vegetation, great and small, and consequently of shade; whilst at the same time one wonders why the palm, that typical beauty and blessing of all Eastern towns, has been rigorously excluded from the precincts of the Holy City.

Before proceeding to describe the appearance and buildings of Kairouan to-day, a short account of the origin of the city should first be given. After the final and total route of the Byzantine forces and the death of the last Christian Exarch of Africa, Gregorius, towards the close of the seventh century the famous fanatical leader, Okba bin Nafa (whose humble shrine near Biskra in Algeria is far more widely known than his magnificent foundation here) decided to erect a temporary town, a *Kerouan*, in this remote and desolate region; whereupon, guided by divine inspiration, he drove his victorious spear into the barren soil so as to mark the future site of his intended mosque.

"The prudence of Akbah (Okba) had proposed to found an Arabian colony in the heart of Africa: a citadel that might curb the levity of the barbarians, a place of refuge

to secure against the accidents of war, the wealth and the families of the Saracens. With this view, and under the modest title of the station of a caravan, he planted this colony in the fiftieth year (A.D. 670-675) of the Hegira. In its present decay Cairoan still holds the second rank in the kingdom of Tunis, from which it is distant about fifty miles to the south; its inland situation . . . has protected the city from the Greek and Sicilian fleets. When the wild beasts and serpents were extirpated, when the forest, or rather wilderness, was cleared, the vestiges of a Roman town were discovered in a sandy plain; the vegetable food of Cairoan is brought from afar; and the scarcity of springs constrains the inhabitants to collect in cisterns and reservoirs a precarious supply of rain-water. These obstacles were subdued by the industry of Akbah; he traced a circumference of 3,600 paces, which he encompassed with a brick wall; in the space of five years the governor's palace was surrounded with a sufficient number of private habitations; a spacious mosque was supported by 500 columns of granite, porphyry, and Numidian marble; and Cairoan became the seat of learning as well as of empire."*

Soon Kairouan became not only a centre of pilgrimage on account of its shrines and the miraculous stories connected with the founding of the city, but also one of the wealthiest and most important towns of Barbary, and as such it has shared, in spite of its religious reputation, in the various wars that have never ceased to rack Northern Africa in every age and under every creed. In spite of occasional sieges and even destructions, the veneration for Kairouan continued to increase among the Arabs, particularly after the capture of Cordova from the Moors of Spain, until the city came to be esteemed by the Mohammedans of Africa as second in sanctity only to Mecca, the cradle and metropolis of Islam, so that it is not to be wondered at that so sacred a spot should have been jealously guarded from infidels and intruders. No Christian was allowed to enter, and no Jew even to

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

approach, the gates of the Holy City; and though from time to time an occasional traveller was by special courtesy of the Bey permitted to visit its mosques and colleges, Kairouan with its historic and artistic treasures remained practically a sealed book to all Europeans until its peaceful but sensational capture by the French in 1882.

"When Tunis was occupied by the French, formidable preparations were made for the attack of the Holy City, where a desperate resistance was anticipated, and the occupation of which was considered the only means of controlling the fanaticism of the Tunisians. Three Corps d'Armée were ordered to arrive at once under its walls. The first sent from Tunis, taking the route by Zaghouan, was commanded by General Logerot, under the superior orders of General Saussier. The second started from Tebessa, commanded by General Forgemol, and was composed of soldiers from Algeria and Arab *Goums*. The third, under General Etienne, marched from Susa. The last-named found the gates open to him, and entered the city without opposition. Not a blow was struck. The Governor voluntarily surrendered the town; the French force defiled through it and encamped under the walls, one regiment having occupied the citadel."*

Since the French conquest the sacred reputation of Kairouan has naturally declined in the eyes of the Arabs, a fact that is due not only to its seizure by infidel troops, but also to the exceptional and much-to-be-praised regulation of the Resident-General of Tunisia as to the compulsory opening of its buildings to the inspection of foreigners, Kairouan being the only place in the whole Regency where strangers are allowed to visit the mosques at all except by special favour. How deeply and bitterly the Arabs resent this intrusion into their sacred places, even for the most innocent of purposes, can be fully understood in Tunis itself, where the entrance-doors of all the mosques have screens placed before them, lest the inquisitive Christian may so much as obtain a glimpse even of the court-yard from without. This decision with

* Sir Lambert Playfair: *Algeria and Tunis*.

regard to Kairouan was in all probability not taken without much previous consideration and argument on the part of the French rulers of modern Tunisia; but whether it be really wise or politic in itself as a means of suppressing local fanaticism, all lovers of Eastern art and history should feel deeply grateful to an Administration which to-day permits them to view in comfort and safety two of the most interesting Mohammedan buildings in existence. Hitherto not only had these two mosques been kept closed to the stranger, but they were also being suffered by their owners to fall into hopeless neglect and decay, as photographs taken twenty years ago, and still preserved in the Museum of the Bardo, at Tunis, can testify. Possibly the French Government has exceeded the limits of prudence and good taste in allowing tourists, and especially women, to take cameras (always so abhorrent to the devout Moslem) into the most sacred enclosures of the Holy City; but on the other hand it has opened the famous buildings of Kairouan to the world, and has also done much to restore them to their original beauty and stability.

Passing from this superficial sketch of twelve centuries of its history to the description of the city itself, Kairouan as it exists to-day may be divided into two parts: the old walled town containing the Grand Mosque, the Bazaars and the chief street, and the extensive suburbs to the south and west, in which latter is situated the European quarter, comprising a tiny public garden, a few official residences, a Catholic church and school, and two humble commercial hotels, strangely termed the "Splendide" and the "Grand." The older portion, Okba's original city, is entirely surrounded by lofty crenellated walls in good preservation and pierced by five gates, Bab el Tunis, to the north, Bab el Khaukh (Gate of the Peach), Bab el Djedid (the New Gate), and Bab el Djelladin (the Tanners' Gate), to the south. From the Tunis Gate to the Tanners' Gate extends a broad winding street, the main artery of the traffic of the town and a never-failing source of picturesque Oriental scenes. Since the French occupation this street, officially named Rue Saussier, after the latest conqueror of Kairouan,

has been paved, and now possesses in addition side-walks planted with a few pepper trees; otherwise the interior of the city retains its original aspect almost unchanged. Adjoining this street are the *Sûks*, or Bazaars, long stone arcades of great extent, always full of movement and colour; and though not so large or intricate as the famous *Sûks* of Tunis, fully as busy and interesting. The flooring of these Bazaars has been repaved by the French, who have fortunately left intact the beautiful band, some two feet high, of old green and yellow tiles that runs the whole length of the Bazaars above the level of the ground. Here Tunisian Arab life can be appreciated and studied at its best and brightest, in the ceaseless come-and-go of these long cool stone tunnels lighted from above by shafts of brilliant sunlight; figures in magnificent red *jibbahs*, embroidered in rich green silk, and with canary-coloured vests; figures clad in the flowing folds of the mysterious white *burnous*, women completely enveloped, face, eyes, and all, in voluminous black draperies, pass and re-pass in quick and crowded succession. As usual, the most thriving industry seems to be that of slipper-making, the long heelless pointed shoes of yellow leather that the Arab loves, and the production of which can be watched by the curious from its earliest stages to the final touches. The *Sûk* of the Stuffs is disappointing, the materials being mostly of European origin and in glaring ill-assorted colours; even the carpets, for the weaving of which Kairouan has long been famous, are often of Western manufacture. The genuine Kairouan carpet, entirely made by hand, can, however, still be obtained at a marvellously small cost considering the time, skill and labour required in its preparation, though the threads are unfortunately nowadays coloured with fierce aniline and not with the old soft vegetable dyes.

Close to the entrance of the Bazaars, enclosed within a large domed building, is the sacred well of El Barota, that boasts a common origin with the yet more famous and sacred spring of Zem-Zem at Mecca, a Moslem theory that will recall to mind the old Greek legend concerning the fountain of Arethusa at Syracuse. Amongst the numerous

mosques and religious establishments, scattered within the network of lanes round the Bazaars, two buildings may be mentioned as being of special importance: the Jamäa Thelatha Biban, or Mosque of the Three Doors, a venerable structure of the tenth century, possessing a marvellously picturesque façade of huge Roman blocks of stone elaborately carved with Cufic inscriptions, and a square minaret adorned with coloured tiles—a delightful study for an artist against a deep blue sky; and the Zaouia, or chantry, of Sidi Abid-el-Ghariani, a member of the reigning house of the Almoravides of Tunis, who died in 1402, and whose direct descendant is still nominal hereditary governor of Kairouan. This foundation contains a small arcaded enclosure decorated in the best style of Arab art with arabesque plaster work and coloured tiles, recalling on a small scale the sumptuous court-yard of the Mosque of the Companion outside the city walls, which will presently be described in detail.

But it is to the great group of buildings occupying the northern angle of the walled town, the Mosque of Sidi Okba, that the traveller will first hasten. A long buttressed wall, severely whitewashed, runs the whole length of the mosque and its court, concealing, as is the invariable custom of the East, all the splendours of its interior. On entering through a sunken doorway beneath a domed tower the visitor suddenly finds himself in an arcaded courtyard, the vastness and grandeur of which make the recollection of the more famous and familiar cloisters of Italy or Spain sink into insignificance. This enclosure is rectangular in form and entirely surrounded by arcades, whose double columns support graceful horse-shoe arches; on its eastern side is the Great Mosque itself, and on its western rises the tall imposing Minar, or Grand Minaret. This tower, which forms a conspicuous landmark for leagues around, is composed of three stories built of Roman-dressed stone or brick, each story slightly decreasing in bulk, and is crowned by a lofty gallery and cupola: a tower severe and almost devoid of ornament, yet singularly majestic in its size and solitude. In the centre of the great sun-smitten space of the courtyard are some carved marble well-heads

for the drawing of water for ablutions from the cisterns below ; otherwise there is nothing to break the monotony of this vast expanse of white marble and stone pavement, which has only recently been cleaned of its weeds and well-renovated by French architects.

Facing the Minar are the entrances to the Maksouhra, or mosque proper, which is also a rectangle, its length being the shorter side of the courtyard, and its dimensions at a rough guess some 400 feet long by 150 feet broad. Its plan is simple but effective, consisting of seventeen naves, each entered from the cloistered court by its own doorway and each separated by lines of columns, the ninth or central nave being twice as broad as any of its fellows and leading direct to the *mihrab*, or sacrarium, of the mosque. This central nave, the portal of which has justly been termed by the Arabs Bab-el-Behou, or the Beautiful Gate, on account of its finely carved and painted doors, also contains the three gigantic candelabra of the mosque, great pyramids of numberless glass lamps supported by wrought metal-work of curious and archaic design that hang like huge inverted bunches of grapes from the ceiling.

The *mihrab* itself, which is lighted by the coloured glass in the fretted windows of its spacious dome, contains an alcove of carved and coloured stonework, concealing Sidi Okba's original building of the seventh century, and has its walls covered with fine old glazed tiles of an olive green hue. The two alabaster columns with rich foliated capitals that support the archivolt have a curious history attached to them, since they were presented in 689 A.D. by Justinian II., Emperor of the East, to adorn this mosque, newly built out of the ruins of the most important cities of the old Roman province of Africa, which had but a few years before formed part of the Byzantine Empire. Such a benefaction from the Christian Emperor to the conquerors of his former patrimony must have betokened either a very forgiving spirit or else a strange indifference to natural pride and sentiment, and it is difficult at this distance of time to understand the object of such a gift. Beside this alcove, which gives the faithful the *Kiblah*, or true direction of Mecca, stands the *Mimbar*, or pulpit, of cedar-wood, a

miracle of patient and fanciful carving, each panel and step containing a different pattern. Beyond the pulpit is the *Beit-el-edda*, a small chamber, or rather screen, also of carved cedar-wood, hardly inferior in design and beauty to the *Mimbar*, and bearing a long Cufic inscription as to its erection in the early part of the eleventh century.

With the exception of this carving and the ornaments of the mihrab this great building is sparsely decorated. Its flooring consists of thick square blocks of stone or marble completely covered with mats woven from the fragrant esparto grass, which is credited with power to destroy insect-life; the walls and arches are whitewashed; and from the roofing of the naves most of the fine old painted beams of cedar have disappeared. It is in the vast number and in the picturesque grouping of its ancient columns that the chief interest and beauty of the mosque lie, so that it has by some travellers been compared in appearance to the world-famous cathedral of Cordova; but though in size and in richness of decoration Cordova may be by far its superior, the Spanish church has not to-day the untouched aspect, the solemnity, the simple and almost barbaric charm that this little-known mosque of Sidi Okba's possesses to the full.

These columns, the spoil of the chief Roman buildings in this part of Africa, number in all nearly 500, of which some 300 are in the mosque itself, whilst the remainder support the arches of the great court. They are for the most part of onion-stone (*cipollino*), or white Numidian marble, but amongst them are to be found specimens of red Egyptian granite, of *verde antique*, and one splendid fluted column of ancient yellow marble, whilst the two great shafts in the clustered groups that support the dome of the mihrab are of fine red porphyry some forty feet in height.

Their capitals are as varied as the pillars themselves, the majority belonging to the composite, or combined Ionic and Corinthian form, whilst later examples of Byzantine art are not infrequent. It is curious to reflect on the vicissitudes of these beautiful spoils: how they have served, and served well, to uphold the temple roofs for

the three great creeds, Pagan, Christian and Mohammedan, which from time to time have swayed the province of Africa. It is a pleasure and a privilege to be allowed to linger in this cathedral of Islam amid the cool sweet-scented silence, broken only by the distant call to prayer of the muezzin echoing from pillar to pillar, or by the whirring wings of an occasional pigeon that flies in or out of the great building; it is a never-to-be-forgotten joy to watch the sunlight streaming through its open doorways and illumining its forest of ancient columns,

“ Each with its tale to tell.”

Before finally leaving the precincts of Sidi Okba's great foundation, it is necessary to ascend to the topmost gallery of the Minar in order to enjoy a bird's-eye view of the whole city and its surroundings. Entering the doorway, formed of beautiful old Roman friezes, at the base of the tower and scaling its steep stairway to the summit of the lantern, a magnificent view, that for interest and extent could scarcely be matched elsewhere in the East, rewards the climber for his exertions. Directly below the tower stretches the pillared court, foreshortened from this point of vantage and terminated by the mosque, which, with its flat roof and long frontage of columns, looks like some huge centipede in stone; beyond is seen the dazzling white city with its domes and minarets, of which nearly a hundred may be counted, extending southward in a long irregular line. To the westward of its suburbs is displayed the cemetery, a semi-circular band, nearly a mile in length, of innumerable tiny white specks dotted here and there with domed *koubbas*, or shrines, on the brown sandy earth. At the northern extremity of this graveyard is the isolated group of buildings, surrounded by hedges of prickly-pear, which forms the Mosque of the Companion, the second most important building from an historical and artistic point of view in Kairouan. Not far from this mosque the chief Arab reservoir, a great circular stone-lined basin, lies glittering in the sunlight. Looking beyond the city and its environs nothing meets the eye but endless, featureless plain, except to the north and west, where the

horizon is bounded by stony hills. Somewhere out of ken amongst those distant barren mountains are hidden the ruins of Sufetula, to-day the miserable Arab village of Sbeitla, and once the seat of the last Christian Exarch of Africa—a dead city that in a sense may be called the parent of Kairouan, seeing that the destruction of the old Christian capital supplied the greater part of the material for the building and beautifying of Sidi Okba's new colony. It is indeed a grand if melancholy panorama, full of the memories of three successive creeds and teeming with the recollections of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of three victorious races of mankind.

Totally different in style, plan and period to Sidi Okba's splendid foundation, yet almost its equal in beauty and in interest, is the Jemāat-es-Sahebi, or Mosque of the Companion (erroneously termed Mosquée du Barbier by the French), a pile of buildings devoted to religious and educational purposes that cluster round the shrine of Abdulla bin-Zamāa-el-Beloui, the companion and friend of the Prophet, who on one occasion presented this faithful follower as a mark of his gratitude and esteem with three hairs from his beard, a circumstance which has given rise to the European tradition that Abdulla usually acted as Mohammed's barber. This structure lies about half a mile beyond the Tunis or northern gate, and to reach it the visitor must first cross the long open market-place outside the walls, always a scene of animated and brilliant Arab life, and proceed down a sandy lane fringed with prickly-pear that leads to the chief entrance.

Externally the Mosque of the Companion consists merely of a number of plain white-washed buildings surmounted by low domes, its only distinctive feature being a graceful little minaret of dressed stone adorned with tiled panels. But on crossing its first neglected court-yard and entering a small postern below the minaret, the beauties of the place gradually reveal themselves. First of all, a small anti-chamber with recessed stone benches, its walls decorated with faïence and Moorish plaster-work, is passed, whence a flight of steps ascends to a beautiful arcaded corridor, open to the sky, supported by double

rows of slender marble columns and plentifully adorned with fine Arab tiles. This double arcade terminates in a small but lofty domed hall, faintly lit by stained glass windows from above and entirely covered with the exquisite stucco-work known as *nuksh hadida*, for which Tunis has long been famous, and which may roughly be described as consisting of blocks of stucco first carved in arabesque designs and then affixed firmly to the surface of the wall after the manner of tiles. Occasionally this *nuksh hadida* work is painted in bright colours—red, yellow, green and gold. Here, however, no such addition has been attempted, with the result that the general effect of this chamber is that of a pavilion of the most delicate lace suspended above and around by invisible hands. Fine specimens of this beautiful art, which flourished till comparatively modern times and is happily not yet quite extinct, are to be met with in the palaces of Tunis and elsewhere in North Africa, but the writer has nowhere seen a more happy application of this peculiar form of ornamentation than in this domed apartment in Kairouan.

Beyond this chamber is the innermost court of the mosque which alone gives access to the shrine of Abdulla the Companion. If the vast enclosure of the Grand Mosque appears to be one of the most majestic and impressive courts of the world, this little cloister before Abdulla's tomb is certainly one of the most graceful and elegant; indeed, it is impossible to conceive anything more effective in its lightness and colour than this specimen of mediæval Arab art and architecture. Its area is of modest proportions and square; its black and white striped marble arches (recalling those of Tuscan churches) are borne by Roman columns of fine white marble; its four walls are completely covered with the finest and brightest tiles of every design and colour, with the exception of a broad band of *nuksh hadida* work that forms a frieze above them. The ceilings are of carved cedar wood, that on the side of the cloister adjoining the shrine being magnificently coffered in addition. Alas! their beautiful arabesques, painted in vermillion, white and turquoise blue, have almost faded away, so that one does not know which to

dread the more, their garish restoration or their total disappearance. Rising above the arches on this side and masking the dome of the shrine itself is a high stone screen faced with the richest and most lustrous tiles arranged in various patterns, still brilliant and fresh as on the day of its erection. In striking contrast to the general scheme of minute and elaborate decorations of this inner court are the hanging lamps for its illumination, consisting of plain wooden covers or sheaths in the shape of a long cow-bell from which a simple glass vase is suspended like a clapper.

Entering finally the Shrine of the Companion by a carved marble doorway set between two grilled windows, of late Italian design and executed probably by Italian slaves, beautiful in themselves but of necessity jarring notes in this delightful symphony of the purest and finest Oriental art, the tomb of Abdulla, a catafalque of the usual Arab type, at once meets the eye. It is covered with two magnificent black and gold palls and surrounded by the lamps, glittering globes, ostrich eggs and silken banners common to most holy places in North Africa; around it are usually to be seen silent white-robed figures of devotees, for this is perhaps the most sacred spot in a sacred city, containing, as it does, not only the dust of the faithful friend of Mohammed, but also a most precious relic in the three hairs plucked from the Prophet's beard and here buried with their owner. It seems strange that the French authorities should allow visitors to enter this place and even to take photographs of the actual tomb, which in Moslem eyes is fully as precious as any great shrine of Catholic Europe; yet it is a common sight to observe the French colonial tourist—and as a rule he has not a reverent or sympathetic spirit—taking the inevitable "snap-shot" of the devoted Companion's last resting-place. As to the building itself, it is comparatively uninteresting in spite of its sanctity and antiquity: there are some fine old carpets of rich texture and colouring on its floor and some ancient tiles on its lower walls, but the greater part of the shrine has lately been restored and tastelessly re-decorated.

Compared with these two glorious structures of Okba and Abdulla the remaining buildings of Kairouan naturally

sink into comparative insignificance, yet the stranger will still find much of Arab art to interest him in the numerous mosques, zaouias and shrines both within and without the walls; also in the city gates, of which the Bab-el-Tunis, with its lofty horse-shoe arches in alternate bands of black and white marble, is the largest and most elaborate. The Great Cemetery too contains in its multitude of domed tombs and grave-stones many interesting Cufic and Arabic inscriptions, few or none of which have as yet been deciphered.

In Roman remains Kairouan is, of course, rich, seeing that the whole town is practically built of ancient material. From the Grand Mosque down to the humblest shed or stable there is scarcely a roof which is not upheld by ancient columns of every dimension and of every variety of marble or stone. One building of comparatively modern date, however, is worthy of special remark, the Jamâa Sidi Amar Abada, of which the dazzling white walls crowned by their seven fluted cupolas form a conspicuous feature in all views of the Holy City. This Amar Abada was a popular *marabout*, or local saint, of a generation ago, greatly in favour with the reigning Bey, but possessed of an eccentric disposition which induced him to spend much of his time in designing and fashioning gigantic swords (whence the French appellation of Mosquée des Sabres to this foundation), pipes and chandeliers, as well as in uttering oracular sayings, the details of which he himself inscribed on large boards. Some of these monstrous curiosities executed by Amar Abada (who seems to have aspired to obtain the fame of posterity as a holy giant of the type of Samson of Israel) are shown to strangers; also a large plaque painted with a prophecy that the French would one day occupy both Tunis and the Holy City, a forecast that, however probable, must have been most distasteful to his fellow-countrymen. Nevertheless, the recollection by the Arabs of Amar Abada's warning contributed in no small degree to General Saussier's easy and bloodless entry into Kairouan in 1882, its inhabitants perceiving in the infidel commander's arrival only the fulfilment of their inspired marabout's prophetic utterance.

But it is in the life of the people, in the variety of their costumes and in the every-day scenes of the Bazaars, the streets or the market-place, that the visitor will take a special delight. Even the strange vegetables and sweet-meats on the vendors' stalls are wonderfully novel and fascinating; whilst in the green and yellow pottery in common use the archæologist will recognise the designs and forms of an ancient civilization far prior to that of the Arabs. Perhaps the most impressive sight in all Kairouan is to be found at sunset outside the walls in watching the return of the flocks to be penned during the night-watches in the old dried-up Roman reservoir, the brick arches of which are still visible: the prolonged bleating of the many thousands of white, black, or pied fat-tailed sheep is almost deafening, as they slowly follow their own shepherds, stately white-draped figures that carry crooks in their right hands and lambs in their bosoms—true Biblical types recalling descriptions of the pastoral life of the Old Testament.

At eventide, too, appear the camels, sometimes in droves a hundred strong, from feeding all day on the rank succulent weeds of the plain, ever grumbling and bellowing horribly, in marked contrast to the behaviour of the demure, patient little donkeys that are invariably their companions. Perhaps, too, the visitor may be fortunate enough to meet some marriage procession of guests clad in their gayest and richest apparel, and accompanied through the streets by musicians making weird music on quaint instruments; or else an Arab funeral with the uncoffined corpse, covered by a carpet on the gaudily painted bier, being borne towards the cemetery with loud nasal lamentations of hired mourners. Would that the writer could produce in a short space a word-picture adequate to express his delighted sense of the charm and beauty of Kairouan, as well as of the courtesy and amiability of its simple, picturesque people!

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In writing of Kairouan it would be impossible to refrain from some account of that powerful and mysterious sect, the Aissaïouia, of which the Holy City is the source and

centre. Though the numerous votaries of this confraternity are widely spread throughout the whole of Barbary, it is in Kairouan alone that their curious and mystical rites can be properly studied; for whilst curtailed or held secretly elsewhere in French Northern Africa, they continue to be practised here in their primitive and original form. The particular ceremony, of which the writer was a witness one Friday in March of last year, took place at the headquarters of the Order, a building of the usual Kairouan type, a square hall surmounted by a dome and supported by ancient columns, with a large court before its entrance doors.

On reaching the mosque a little before sunset the few Christians present were courteously invited to seat themselves on some wooden benches whence they could conveniently watch the whole of the ensuing proceedings. On the broad grass mats below the dome sat the orchestra cross-legged, consisting of four musicians with two drums and two tambourines, their leader, an aged man with snowy beard and totally blind, being led by a small boy to his accustomed place. As soon as the players were seated, each with his little brazier of burning coals before him to stretch the parchment of his instrument when occasion required, all, or nearly all, the men present—the women were, of course, excluded from the mosque itself, but watched the performance eagerly from the courtyard or from behind a carved screen on one side of the building—ranged themselves with linked arms in one long line the whole length of the mosque, the taller and older being in the centre, and the line tapering at either end to tiny children.

As soon as the music was started (the rhythmical din made by the four players vying with each other being really astonishing), the whole band of dancers began to mark the time with their bare feet and to ejaculate curious throaty sounds not unlike the barking of a dog. As the music increased in speed and volume, so did the human line rise and fall with more force and noise, till suddenly after an interval (the unusual length of which was attributed to the adverse influence of the several "Giaours" present) the long swaying chain broke assunder with an ear-

piercing yell. A moment later some twenty Aissaïouia, mostly youths from fourteen to eighteen years of age, were rushing wildly about the mosque, and with fez or turban flung aside were stripping themselves to the waist in their eagerness to begin the mystic rites, the faint light of the lamps illumining in the semi-darkness their naked bodies and their thick black strands of uncoiled hair.

The attendants of the Order were ready prepared with the weapons necessary to the occasion, and the enthusiasts, now in the required condition of mingled frenzy and stupor, were quickly supplied. These objects, which were produced from a large rack hanging on the wall, consisted of sabres, of long skewers tipped with balls at one end, and of thick rapiers terminating in heavy wooden handles. The devotees chose one or more of these weapons which they proceeded to fix carefully and deliberately into their bodies, the skewers being driven through the cheek or shoulder, whilst the sabres were laid upon the bare arm or the waist and then pressed heavily inwards. The favourite instruments, however, were the long rapiers, which were thrust into the thighs, the self-tortured youths holding the two wooden handles upright by both hands. The weapons being now encased in the flesh of these voluntary martyrs, the ceremony began in earnest. Powerful young men armed with mallets or short staves now set to work to strike the handles of these rapiers or the flat sides of the imbedded sabres so as to drive their sharp points or edges into the body, a cruel attention which the Aissaïouia implored to obtain to the full and even appeared to enjoy.

One boy of about fourteen in particular attracted the writer's attention; with eyes protruding, and with his long released coil of black hair (by which Mohammed will one day draw up this enthusiastic young disciple to Paradise) hanging to his naked waist, this little fanatic, drunk with religious fervour, crept rather than walked round the building bearing a long rapier in each thigh and a skewer through his cheeks. Foaming at the mouth, he begged silently yet earnestly the hard-worked attendants of the mosque to increase his self-inflicted agonies by a vigorous succession of their blows. Marks of former religious

chastisements were visible on the boy's limbs and shoulders. He ate pieces of glass greedily. One could scarcely believe it possible that this little zealot could ever enjoy health again or even survive to the morrow, yet on the following morning the writer observed him in the streets of Kairouan following his ordinary occupation, that of a baker's boy, apparently none the worse for his experiences of the previous evening! One curious fact in this strange exhibition struck the writer greatly: though genuine wounds were inflicted and glass was freely eaten, yet not one drop of blood was to be seen, a circumstance for which it is difficult to account.

It would be impossible to describe fully the scene in this mosque, dimly lit by some half-dozen hanging lamps, with the deafening din of the drums now joined to the fearful clatter made by the rain of blows dealt by the attendants upon the bodies of the Aissaïouia. Outside in the court the young girls of Kairouan danced and screamed in the fast-fading light, half-mad with excitement, whilst the older women, hidden behind their screen, joined in the general tumult. Once two men, venerable Moslems with flowing beards, indulged in a vigorous *pas de deux*, varied by high kicks not unworthy of a French *ballerine*, and by clapping their hands and shrieks; occasionally an older man would succumb to the very real intoxication of the scene and noise, and casting off his turban would violently rock himself backwards and forwards, howling the while like a hyæna. It was the strangest, maddest, yet most picturesque pandemonium of sights and sounds; and the writer could have watched this unique spectacle far longer than the time allotted.

At length, after about two hours, the rites were declared at an end; the older and more sedate began to pacify or control their excited young disciples, and the infidel element was politely ushered out, the writer contrasting in his mind the stately calm of the Grand Mosque with this latest fantastic exhibition of a sect of Islam, and meditating on these two opposite extremes of Mohammedan worship and ideas.

HERBERT M. VAUGHAN.

ART. VI.—MARIE DE VIGNEROD,
DUCHESSÉ D'AIGUILLON (1604-1675).*

“Née grande dame, elle à été surtout grande Chrétienne, et elle a passé dans le monde pour y donner l'exemple de toutes les vertus dans les régions les plus élevées de la société du dix-septième siècle.”—BONNEAU AVENANT.

THE history of the seventeenth century in France is that of a period of great glories, great miseries, and happily, also of great virtues. Nothing was mediocre either in good or evil, and the number of great and brilliant personages belonging to this time is almost bewildering. Among the women whom history commemorates few played a greater part, in her modest way, than the subject of this sketch, Marie de Vignerod de Pontcourlay, afterwards Marquise de Combalet and Duchesse d'Aiguillon, while her relationship to Cardinal Richelieu lends additional interest to her story and sheds a gentler and happier light on the character of the great minister. “The adopted daughter of an almost kingly minister,” says her biographer, “she for long occupied a place worthy of envy, but, like the Angel of Mercy placed next to Justice, Madame d'Aiguillon profited by her power only to intercede on behalf of the guilty, to console the afflicted, and to succour the poor.”

Marie de Vignerod de Pontcourlay was born in 1604 at the Château of Glénay in Poitou, and was the daughter of René de Vignerod, Seigneur de Pontcourlay, gentleman

* The following books have been consulted for this article: *La Duchesse d'Aiguillon*, by Bonneau Avenant; Hannotan's *Life of Cardinal Richelieu*; and Flécher's *Oraisons Funébres*.

in waiting to Henry IV., and of Françoise de Richelieu, eldest sister of the Cardinal. Without having the genius of her brother, Madame de Pontcourlay was a very superior woman. Like him she had "a noble heart, proud and full of generous sentiments," but allied to great kindness and gentleness. The family of Vignerod, which was ancient and distinguished, came originally from England in the reign of Charles VII. Their possession of the lands of Pont-de-Courlay dated from 1460, but a century later they left this property to reside in the old feudal château of Glènay, which they inherited from the family of Beaumont-Bressuire. This château, which seems to have escaped the visitations of tourists, is situated half way between Thouars and Bressuire, and looks down from its rocky height on a narrow valley watered by the river Thouaret. To-day only the ruins of the castle exist, but the fine Roman Church of the twelfth century still remains surrounded by the humble little village of Glènay. Here in the pure country air, and in the midst of the rather melancholy scenery of the *bocage*, Marie's childhood was passed, far from the great world; and under the gentle and pious influence of her mother her character acquired a maturity and simplicity which her early sorrows served to increase. Another daughter was born to her parents but died in infancy, and when Marie was five years old her only brother's birth caused immense joy—a joy soon turned to sorrow, however, by the delicacy of his health, the result of a serious fall when he was just able to walk. In this affliction Marie appears to have been her mother's best consolation. "Never was child more tender nor one who loved her mother with more respect. It seemed as if she understood her parents' sorrow and wished to lessen its bitterness by her gentleness." Richelieu, then Bishop of Luçon, also showed his sympathy with his sister in her trial by an affectionate letter.

The illness of the young de Pontcourlay was the forerunner of other sorrows to the family. Monsieur de Pontcourlay, depressed by the illness of his son and the tragic death of his friend and master, Henry IV., fell ill of a violent fever. Monseigneur of Luçon hastened to

Glènay and remained with his brother-in-law, assisting and encouraging him until he was restored to health, but this happy result had hardly been attained when Madame de Pontcourlay, already delicate and worn out by her devotion to her sick husband and child, fell ill and died in 1618, gently and peacefully as she had lived. Her last words were to recommend her two children to the special care of her mother, Madame de Richelieu, and to beg Marie to be a mother to her little brother. Marie was now twelve years old, and had made her First Communion, for which she had been prepared by her great uncle, L'Abbé de Vignerod, Curé of Glènay. He it was also who had instructed her in the elements of Latin and French literature, and the charm with which he invested his lessons gave her a taste for intellectual things, which she preserved all her life. The poor child thus early acquainted with sorrow suffered deeply from her mother's death and from the separation from her home, for Monsieur de Pontcourlay, for whom Glènay had now nothing but sad memories, hastened to place his children under their grandmother's care.

"Mademoiselle de Pontcourlay's farewell to the castle chapel was heartbreaking," writes her biographer, "and as long as the turrets of Glènay could be perceived her tears flowed ;" but mercifully at Marie's age happy distractions arise from change of scene, and the journey on horseback, which took several days, helped to divert her thoughts. The arrival of the mournful family party at the Château of Richelieu renewed, however, for a time all the sadness. Madame de Richelieu, on seeing her grandchildren, was overcome with sorrow, but she took them to her heart, and for the short time she was spared to them devoted herself to their welfare.

The Château of Richelieu, which had belonged to the family since 1350, was very different from Glènay, and although in a contemporary print it looks somewhat grim and fortress-like, it is described as "a little castle well built, in a pleasant country, with a pretty Gothic chapel . . . in the midst of courtyards and gardens surrounded by walls and moats full of running water." Such was

Richelieu when Marie de Pontcourlay first saw it, and before the magnificent restorations which were to be effected by her uncle in years to come.

The proximity of Tours and Poitiers secured a certain amount of society to the neighbouring Châteaux, and Madame de Richelieu saw many people and was kept *au fait* likewise with the doings of the Court. Like most of the mothers of great men, she was a gifted woman, "one of the noblest and most virtuous ladies of her time, joining to the most solid virtues beauty and intellectual charm." She was enchanted with her little granddaughter, and these two seemed at once to understand each other, and in spite of the great difference in age they were united by a curious similarity of thoughts and of tastes, and in their love for study and prayer.

Everything was done at Richelieu to complete Marie's education. She had great aptitude for music and languages, and now learnt to sing and to speak Italian and Spanish, besides taking lessons in literature from the Prior of Saint Florent of Saumer.

Every summer it was the custom for Madame de Richelieu's children to gather round her. The eldest son, the Marquis, and his wife (the young widow of the Président de Silly), Alphonse, the Carthusian monk, Armand, Bishop of Luçon, and Nicole, afterwards Duchesse de Brézé. A few months therefore after the arrival of Marie and her brother, the family party assembled. The Bishop suffering, as he so constantly did, from fever, had been brought in a litter, and as his recovery was slow he obtained leave from Marie de Medici—to whose Council he now belonged—for a prolongation of his holiday. It was at this time that Madame de Richelieu, as if foreseeing her approaching death, specially recommended Marie and her brother to their famous uncle's care. On his arrival she went to meet him, holding her grandchildren by the hand, and begged for them his episcopal blessing and fatherly protection. The Bishop, who had dearly loved his sister, Madame de Pontcourlay, wept as he blessed them, and promised to watch over them with a father's affection. Such was the beginning of Richelieu's

deep interest in his niece—an interest which was repaid by filial respect and unselfish attachment on her part.

This family gathering was the last which Madame de Richelieu was to enjoy. In the following November she died, after a few hours' illness, her daughter Nicole and her young granddaughter only being with her.

To Marie fell the task of communicating the sad tidings to her uncle the Marquis, and she implored him to go in person to tell the Bishop, "to soften the bitterness of news, which might bring a return of the fever." The Bishop's apparent rigidity of character concealed much sensibility and a warm heart, as his letters testify. On this occasion he wrote the following to his Carthusian brother :

"I regret deeply that this letter must tell you of the loss we have all suffered in our poor mother. . . . In her death God has given her as many graces, consolations, and sweetnesses as she had received contradictions, sorrows and crosses during her life. . . . For myself, I pray God that in the future her good example and yours may be so useful to me that I may amend my life."

Marie had now, in the short space of a year, lost her mother and grandmother, and the question of her future was an anxious one. It was proposed that Monsieur de Pontcourlay should bring his children with him to Paris, but Marie's aunt, the young Marquise, intended passing a short time at Richelieu, and asked to keep her with her. To her care, therefore, and to that of her aunt Nicole, Marie was confided. The young Madame de Richelieu, though "a little vain," had an excellent heart, and soon became much attached to Marie. She and her husband formed part of the circle of intimate friends whom the Queen-mother, Marie de Medici, gathered round her; and Marie, interested by her aunts' stories of the King and Queen and the Court, began to wish to go to Paris herself. On her side the Marquise desired to return thither, and Nicole—not a very wise person—"only thought of getting married." The unsettled state of politics, however, made it impossible for the ladies to leave Richelieu, and before long the Bishop of Luçon, the Marquis and Monsieur de Pontcourlay, exiled from Court, returned for a time to the ancestral home.

The next four years brought great changes to the family, the first event being the marriage of Marie's aunt Nicole to the Marquis—afterwards Duc de Brézé—which was followed in 1618 by the sad death of the young Madame de Richelieu and her infant son, and shortly afterwards by the tragic end of the Marquis de Richelieu himself. The story of Marie's life during this period is merged in that of her relations, and it is only in 1620 that we can take up the thread of her history and find her at the age of sixteen "tall and beautiful, but with the pure and touching beauty that unites the innocence of the child with the grace of womanhood," and her character—matured, as we have said, by so much sorrow—had equally developed.

Little François on his side had grown stronger and his education was to begin. Their uncle, the Bishop, to whom the Château now belonged, consoled himself in the grief caused by his brother's death by trying to arrange with Monsieur de Pontcourlay the future of the young people, and for Marie this was to mean an early marriage.

Monsieur de Brézé presented as a candidate for her hand a young friend of his, the Count de Bèthune (a nephew of Sully), who had an ardent affection for her. His great name and relationship to Sully predisposed Marie's guardians in his favour, and the Bishop and Monsieur de Pontcourlay decided that the ceremony of betrothal should take place in the ensuing summer. In May, therefore, Monsieur de Bèthune came to Richelieu and was presented to his fiancée, and Marie soon learnt to love him.

The few days they then spent together were to be the happiest in their lives, and when Monsieur de Bèthune was forced to leave her he went away full of hope and joy; but Marie, to whom repeated sorrows had given a gravity beyond her years, felt some anxiety. She dreaded, and with reason, the dissensions of the Court and the influence that they might have on her future happiness. Who indeed would have supposed that Marie's marriage was to be one of the clauses of the famous treaty of the Pont de Cé? But so it proved. Her happy prospects were sacrificed to politics, and her future husband was

destined to be not Monsieur de Bèthune, but the Marquis de Combalet, Richelieu himself being obliged to sacrifice his niece's happiness to family ambition and reasons of State. The King when sending Mgr. de Bérulle to Pont de Cé to treat with Richelieu the conditions of his reconciliation with the Queen, asked, "as a gage of reconciliation between the two parties and guarantee of good friendship with these two chief counsellors, that Mademoiselle de Pontcourlay, niece of the Bishop, should be accorded in marriage to the Marquis of Combalet, only son of the sister of Monsieur de Luynes."

The marriage with Monsieur de Bèthune had now to be broken off in spite of the heartbreaking efforts of the young bridegroom to avert it. Neither Monsieur de Pontcourlay nor Richelieu seem to have had any idea that Marie's affections were already seriously engaged; and her father counted, and justly, entirely on her obedience, which did not falter, poor child, although "she wept and said that she would die." Richelieu would gladly have postponed her marriage to give Marie time to prepare and resign herself, but the Queen-mother desired "with passion" this union, which was to assure to her the support of the Duke of Luynes; so that Marie heard in the course of a few days of her broken engagement and of her new marriage, and that "such was the will of the King and Queen."

On November 26, 1620, Marie was conducted with great ceremony to the Court, where her uncle presented her to the King, the two Queens, and all the great officials. After the contract of marriage had been signed, the marriage took place "in the apartment of the young Queen, Anne of Austria, where the nuptial blessing was given to the young couple by the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, in the presence of the King, the two Queens, the Princes of the blood, the Princesses, and the highest persons of the Court."

The same evening a great ball was given by the Queen-mother to celebrate the wedding and the reconciliation of which it was to be the seal. Magnificently dressed for the occasion, and covered with jewels given her by the

Queen, Marie looked radiantly beautiful, but she appeared quite indifferent to the effect she produced. The contrast between her old quiet life and the existence opening before her was immense. She had now taken her place in the great world, and henceforth was to live in the midst of the frivolities of the Court and of incessant political agitation, and far worse to her affectionate nature, she was now the wife of a man she did not know, and for whom she is said to have had an aversion. Other writers assert, however, that Monsieur de Combalet "showed her so much affection and admiration that he softened her sorrow and much diminished her dislike to him."

As Marie never spoke of her marriage in after years we cannot tell her real feelings, but we know that the young pair spent the short time they were together in peace and harmony. Only six months after the wedding Monsieur de Combalet was summoned to follow his uncle, the Duc de Luynes, who had been now made Constable of France, to the war.

The Duke was sent to besiege Montauban and to fight the Huguenot rebellion in the South, and Monsieur de Combalet was to inaugurate a military career under his eye. The two Queens and their Court were to accompany the King during part of this campaign; and as the Bishop of Luçon and Madame de Combalet were selected to attend them, the young couple expected soon to meet again. They did so in effect in September at the Château of Trilly, but it was for the last time. In the December following the Duc de Luynes died of the plague, and his death materially affected Monsieur de Combalet's prospects. Having now no special credit at Court he remained all winter with the army in the South, separated from the Court and his wife; and in the following September, 1622, he met his early death at the siege of Montpellier. Bassompierre says that his body was recovered with those of his gallant comrades, but the *Mercure de France* and *Toiras* affirm that after being seriously wounded on September 3, Monsieur de Combalet was found among the dead, and having recovered consciousness was taken into the

town to receive assistance, but was instead "killed in cold blood by the Huguenots."

When Marie heard of the death of her husband her first wish was to retire altogether from the world, for a time at least. She obtained leave of absence from the Queen and went to the Carmelite Convent in Paris. Left a childless widow at eighteen, she had come to a decisive moment in her life. She had suffered much in giving up her union with Monsieur de Bèthune, and had no wish to make a second marriage; and after spending some days in solitude and prayer she resolved to devote herself entirely to God's service in the Carmelite Order. After some time she was allowed to become a novice in the Convent where she had taken refuge, which had been founded by Madame Accarie, and of which the latter once spoke in these terms: "Truly, I have been with Angels, and this house is a heaven upon earth."

In 1624 Marie lost her father, Monsieur de Pontcourlay, and thus another link with her old life was broken. In future her uncle was to be both her chief adviser and her first care. Richelieu had no wish for her to become a nun. It is most doubtful indeed if she had any real vocation to the religious life. When she had finished her novitiate both her director, Mgr. de Bérulle, and the then Prioress of the Convent, Mademoiselle de Fontaines, absolutely opposed her wish to take the final vows. Richelieu, who had lately been made Cardinal and Minister of State, visited his niece several times, and finding that the seductions of the world or of ambition utterly failed to shake Marie's determination, he confided to her the dangers and *ennuis* which were attached to his new position and which poisoned his existence. Marie, realising that opposition to her uncle's will and to that of her other advisers was useless, gave up once more her own desires and resolved to devote herself to the consolation and assistance of the Cardinal in his great career; and although she attempted later, more than once, to follow her ideal, it seems evident that she was intended for a different and very useful mission in the world.

In the end of 1624, therefore, when the brilliant festivities

for Henrietta Maria's marriage were beginning, Marie returned to Court, where, however, she appeared in her severe widow's dress, thus to mark her severance from the world, and this dress she kept until the moment came when she definitely gave up all hope of entering a convent.

On New Year's Day, 1625, Mme. de Combalet found on her table, with other gifts, a brief from the King appointing her lady-in-waiting to the Queen-mother. Such an honour could not be refused, and Marie took up the duties belonging to her new position, which she was long destined loyally to fulfil, first towards Marie de Medicis, whose character was never sympathetic to her, and later to Anne of Austria, to whom she became warmly attached.

It is impossible in these few pages to follow Mme. de Combalet (or, as from Jan. 1, 1638, we must call her the Duchesse d'Aiguillon) through the many interesting circumstances of her life.* We can but select for illustration a few of the multiplied occupations that came to her as time went on. She considered her first duty to be to her uncle—although her brother, and later his children, depended also much upon her—and gradually she assumed, at his desire, the charge of his salon; and, at first in the Hotel du Petit Luxembourg, and later in the Palais Cardinal, she entertained for him.

The Palace of the Petit Luxembourg, so connected with the life and also the death of Mme. d'Aiguillon, merits description. "It was a delicious house, with garden terrace which was surrounded by windows and mirrors, which together doubled the extent of the salons and gardens around it. The trees and flowers were portable and constantly renewed. All the apartments opened on to this garden and communicated with a magnificent salon," painted by Lemaire and Manchole. Mademoiselle de Scudery has preserved for us in one of her novels the description of the interior of the Palace, though at a later date than that of which I now write. "Not only were all these salons

* In 1638 Louis XIII. made her "Duchesse d'Aiguillon and Pair de France" in testimony of the services rendered by her grandfather and uncle to the Crown.

and rooms splendidly furnished," she writes, "but there was also a gallery and three great rooms filled with rare and precious things. It was, however, not only statues and pictures that one saw (for Mme. d'Aiguillon was supposed to possess the finest Rubens's and many antique marbles), but mosaic tables, ebony cabinets, and gold and silver vessels studded with jewels of inestimable price." Mademoiselle de Scudery goes on to enumerate other curios. Richelieu in fact placed in this Palace all his Italian treasures for his niece's pleasure, such as pictures by Leonardo da Vinci, Guido, Perugino, Tintoretto, etc., together with many *objets d'art*, which Marie's love of art and cultivated taste enabled her thoroughly to appreciate.

At the moment that Madame d'Aiguillon took her new place in the world she was, says Tallemant, "in all the flower of her beauty." All contemporary authors are unanimous in calling her beautiful, and her portraits seem to prove it. She was tall and elegant in figure, like an "antique statue," her features regular and pleasing, but her chief charm lay in the contrast offered by her gentle blue eyes and dark chesnut hair and eyelashes. When she reappeared at Court "all the world was dazzled" by her beauty we are told, and poets and painters vied in their wish to do her honour. We are not surprised to find many suitors aspiring for the honour of her hand, and among them Monsieur de Bèthune, who had been long absent from France, but had always remained faithful to his first love. When Marie heard of this she was much moved, and wept silently; but when her uncle, desirous of seeing her married, asked her wishes, she replied, "Monseigneur, I have vowed to belong to God alone, and I will keep my promise." This was her final answer to all questions of the kind, although she—as we have seen—found herself obliged to give up all hopes of entering religious life.

It was at this time that Marie had occasion for the first time to fulfil the office of intercessor for those in misfortune, in which she persevered as long as her uncle lived. The first case in which she strove (and

without success) to obtain mercy for a criminal, was that of Chalais, condemned to death for high treason, but by her influence his unfortunate mother was allowed to approach the King.

In the same year the Comte de Botteville was executed for duelling. This vice had become so common that such fights took place in Paris "day and night, by moonlight, by torchlight, and even in public places," so that the King and Richelieu had determined to suppress the evil. It was hopeless therefore to expect mercy, but Marie, at the prayer of de Botteville's mother, endeavoured, although "in trembling," to obtain it from the King and Cardinal. Marie was ever ready, in fact, to use her power with her uncle for all, under trials of whatever kind. As her biographer remarks, "she was never afraid to plead with him and use her influence when she thought she could make him soften certain rigours or relax a too great severity." Poor authors and literary men or women were also the special objects of her care, and we may be pardoned for quoting an amusing account of how Richelieu's interest was secured on one occasion in which his foible—a love of cats—materially aided Marie's protégée. The suppliant, Mademoiselle de Gournay, was brought to the Cardinal, who after speaking with her, turned to Monsieur de Boisrobert, who was present, saying, "I will give her two hundred écus of pension." "Good, Monseigneur, and she thanks you," replied he, "but she has servants." To this the Cardinal answered that he would give fifty livres a year for the maid. "Good, Monseigneur, but she has also *ma mie paillon*." "Who is that?" asked the Cardinal. "It is Mademoiselle de Gournay's cat," replied de Boisrobert. "I give twenty livres pension to *ma mie paillon*," returned Richelieu. It ended in his bestowing an additional sum of six *pistoles* for *ma mie's* kittens as well, and Mademoiselle de Gournay, saved from starvation, went home with four pensions.

In these ways of charity Marie was, as we have seen, the angel guardian of her uncle, and her piety also certainly contributed at times to revive his own. We have glimpses of this in her Memoirs, such as the great vow of Louis

XIII.,* which was inspired by the Cardinal ; but the most important testimony to the real spirit of religion which underlay Richelieu's patriotic and political ambitions lies in that afforded by his death-bed. As Madame d'Aiguillon was with him then also, I may be permitted to quote at length from the account given in her life. Towards the end of November, 1642, Richelieu's ordinary delicacy gave place to acute disease, accompanied by fever, and on December 2 a consultation of doctors pronounced that the Cardinal could not recover. Richelieu had had a presentiment of his death, and when the moment came "all the pomps of this world disappeared before the grandeur of religion. Into this soul, troubled with so many cares, there came a sudden and mysterious cessation of the noises and passions of the earth." Louis XIII. paid him a visit on the same day, and the Cardinal, making an effort to raise himself, said, "Sire, I see well that I must depart, and now take farewell of your Majesty. But I die at least with the satisfaction of having ever served the King, of leaving the State in a high state of prosperity, and all its enemies vanquished." After the King had left, Richelieu asked the doctor how long he could live, saying, "Speak to me not as a physician, but as a friend;" and on hearing that he would be dead or cured in twenty-four hours, he replied, "That is an answer as it should be. I understand you," and he sent for the Curé of Ste. Eustache to bring him Holy Viaticum. Prepared by his confessor, the Bishop of Chartres, he received Holy Communion with great sentiments of contrition and piety ; and just before, when the Blessed Sacrament had been placed on the Altar prepared in his room, he made this solemn declaration : "There is my Judge, He who will soon pronounce my sentence. May He condemn me if in the exercise of my ministry I have proposed to myself anything other than the good of religion and the State." On the following day the Cardinal received Extreme Unction, begging the Curé to speak to him "as

* By this vow the King placed himself and his kingdom under the special protection of the Blessed Virgin, and Richelieu was also the inspirer of the King's promise that a silver lamp should burn in perpetuity before her statue in Notre-Dame.

a great sinner, and to treat him as he would the most humble of his parish." After reciting aloud the principal articles of faith, saying that he believed them all with a "perfect faith" and desiring to have "a thousand lives to sacrifice them all for the faith and the Church," he was asked if he forgave his enemies. "I do so with good heart," he replied, "and in the same manner that I beg the Divine justice to deal with me: but I have had none but those of the State." He commended himself to the prayers of those around him, "showing much tenderness of heart and sincere repentance of his faults, kissing the crucifix which he held in his hands." Everyone was in tears, for "this terrible man was by his detractors themselves allowed to be the best master, the best relative and friend that had ever been."*

Madame d'Aiguillon, who had remained kneeling by the side of the bed, was so overcome that she had to be removed to another room. Later in the day the Cardinal spoke to her regarding his last wishes, begging her to remain in the world where she was much needed and to take charge of her nephews, the de Pontcourlays, which she promised to do. At the end he "kissed her hands, repeating that she was the person he had most loved," and as she could not stifle her emotion he made her a sign to leave the room.

Towards midnight of December 4 the last moment approached, and Richelieu, holding out his hand to Madame d'Aiguillon, said, "My niece, I feel very ill. I am going to die. Please leave me—your sorrow affects me too much. Do not give yourself the grief of seeing me give up my soul." She tried to remain, withdrawing herself from the bed only, but the Cardinal made her such a tender and suppliant sign to go that she did not dare to disobey and left the room. Shortly afterwards her uncle passed away.

The death of Richelieu plunged Madame d'Aiguillon into the deepest grief. Never was father, for such he had been to her, more sincerely regretted. The brilliant period

* *Derniers Moments de Richelieu: Archives Curieuses.* 2e Series, tome v., p. 358, Bibl. Nat.

of her existence, that in which "the greatness of the niece was allied to that of the uncle," was also closed; but her later years, if less full of grandeurs, were occupied with many great and useful works. Before considering these however, the following story may serve to illustrate quite a new feature of Marie's existence, and one very characteristic of the times. Through the influence of Mazarin she was appointed "Governess of Havre" during the minority of her nephew the Duc de Richelieu, to whom this post belonged; and in 1658, when the siege of Dunkirk was expected, Marie, "consulting only her courage," determined to go to Havre herself. Once there, despite "the cold rain which was incessant and her own bad health, she visited everything herself. Every day she had the necessary additions to the fortifications executed under her own eye, and distributed the money necessary for the arming, equipment and provisions necessary for the garrison." A month later, Louis XIV., who was defending Calais and preparing to attack Dunkirk, found himself short of ammunition and wrote to beg her assistance in the matter. After making his petition for "five or six thousand cannon balls of 24 calibre," which he promises shall be replaced, he remarks that he rejoices at the good state in which her presence has put everything in Havre, adding, "I implore you, Madame, to thoroughly examine and put everything in good order while you are on the spot. As long as you are there one can keep one's mind in peace." Marie promptly sent all the ammunition she could to the King, thus materially helping the taking of Dunkirk, which surrendered to Turenne on June 14, 1658. Then free from her charge she returned to Paris to resume the quiet life, which was infinitely more to her tastes than commanding garrisons.

If Madame d'Aiguillon was able to help her Sovereign in his military undertakings, it was her happy privilege also to be the instigator of one of the greatest works of charity of his reign by suggesting the foundation of the famous "General Hospital." Marie had long been a moving power in all the works of charity in Paris and those in the country, where the misery caused by war, pestilence and

famine was incredible, and equalled only by the marvellous charity it called forth. She was foremost among the admirable women who seconded St. Vincent de Paul in all his charitable projects, and was "the soul of his meetings of charity, his missions and his charitable foundations," and her uncle had aided her efforts. One special misery had, however, remained untouched, and even Richelieu's power had been unable to cope with it. Forty thousand poor, it is estimated, overran Paris, a population "without faith or laws, human or divine, always in war with society," and a standing danger to it. One day in 1653, Madame d'Aiguillon, who was presiding at a meeting of the Ladies of Charity, said that something ought to be done to remedy so great an evil, and that she proposed to attempt it herself. The ladies agreed to second her, and she implored St. Vincent de Paul to assist them, for she was convinced, as she said to him, that "God, who was visibly with him and had blessed all his enterprises, would also bless this one if he would undertake it, and would cause him to succeed where the most powerful ministers and kings had failed." St. Vincent in his humility refused for long; but at last, overcome by Marie's zeal, he consented, and took an active share in the good work. The Queen, to whom Marie confided her idea, gave her the house of the Salpêtrière, and she obtained 150,000 livres from Mazarin, as well as large sums from the royal family, while she herself repaired the Salpêtrière at the cost of 50,000 livres. Five years later Marie's hope was realised: *The General Hospital* was opened and received within its walls nearly 50,000 poor persons.

And now let us glance at the last scene of Madame d'Aiguillon's long life. In 1671 her health completely failed, and for the last four years she never left the Petit Luxembourg. At first she was still able to preside at the meetings of the Ladies of Charity, which now took place in her own house, but gradually she was forced to give up even this and to keep to her two rooms—a sitting-room adjoining a still smaller sleeping apartment, both near the private chapel where she daily heard Mass. The last eleven months of her life were full of suffering, "but Marie

had long learnt the lesson of sorrow and pain, and now was only occupied in disposing herself to die well." During her last days her virtue became still more evident to those around her, though she considered herself but "a great sinner," and her frequent prayer was, "Oh, my God, inspire this great sinner with some great design for your glory and the expiation of her sins."

On April 17, 1675, she breathed her last at the age of seventy-one, and was interred in the Carmelite Convent very quietly as she had wished. All Paris however followed her to her grave, and as the coffin was lowered into the vault the tears and lamentations of all present testified to the affection she had inspired.

M. M. MAXWELL SCOTT.

ART. VII.—THE TERCENTENARY OF "DON QUIXOTE."

1. *Il Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha.* Compuesto por MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAUEDRA, Dirigido al Dvque de Bejar, Marques de Gibrleon, Conde de Benalcazar y Bañares, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Senor de las Villas de Capilla, Curiel y Burguillos. Año, 1605. Con Privilegio, en Madrid, Por Juan de la Cuesta. Vendese en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey ñro señor. 4to. Ff. 316.
2. *The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.* A Biographical, Literary, and Historical Study, with a Tentative Bibliography from 1585 to 1892, and an Annotated Appendix on the Canto de Calíope. By JAS. FITZMAURICE-KELLY. London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1892.

THE present age has already witnessed several remarkable centenary celebrations. The Lutheran centenary of 1817 was one of the first to set the fashion; and since then it has seemed impossible to let the hundredth anniversary of any great historical event pass by without some appropriate commemoration. Thus, within the last few years, we have seen America celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the voyage of Columbus, Hungary honouring the nine hundredth year of its ancient monarchy, and England keeping the millenary of Alfred and the thirteen hundredth anniversary of the landing of St. Augustine. And now, in the opening years of the new

twentieth century, we find the world of letters engaged in celebrating the Tercentenary of the publication of a humorous novel, the veracious history of the Knight of the Doleful Countenance, *Don Quixote de la Mancha*.

There may possibly be some to whom this may hardly seem to be a matter of sufficient moment for a centenary commemoration. But, for my part, I hail it with satisfaction as a due recognition of the rightful claims of literature. The birth of a work of genius such as this masterpiece of Cervantes is really one of the great events in the world's history, and is in no wise less worthy of being held in honoured remembrance than a battle, or a revolution, or the foundation of a kingdom. I should say this of any classic work in the world's literature. But I confess that I find a peculiar cause for satisfaction in the honours that are now being paid to the immortal memory of the Spanish novelist. For he belongs to a land whose rich literature has hitherto been but imperfectly appreciated by English readers.

This neglect has no doubt been due, in some degree at least, to racial rivalry, and the lingering influence of ancient prejudices in politics or religion. But apart from these causes it is only natural that we should give the first place in our affections to the writers of our own country, and that when we begin to look beyond the frontiers we should be attracted most by the nations that are our nearest neighbours, or by those that fill the largest space on the horizon. In this way it may well be that for many Englishmen Spanish literature is somewhat overshadowed by that of other nations.

Thus, to take a notable instance, when Cardinal Newman is lamenting the calamity that our national literature has been formed in Protestantism, we find him adding, "Still, other literatures have disadvantages of their own; and, though in such matters comparisons are impossible, I doubt whether we should be better pleased if our English classics were tainted with licentiousness, or defaced by infidelity or scepticism. I consider we should not much mend matters if we were to exchange literatures with the French, Italians, or Germans." For many readers, I

fancy, foreign literature means the literature of the three nations named in this passage.

But in truth the national literature of Spain need not fear comparison with that of any other land, and in regard to the points which the lecturer has specially in view, it may fairly claim to be ranked above all others. No literature that is merely human can be wholly blameless. But it can hardly be said that the classic writers of Spain are tainted with licentiousness, or heresy, or infidelity. If the Spanish sovereign is accorded the proud title of the Most Catholic King, the national literature may fairly be described as the most Catholic literature.

This is especially the case with the writers of the golden age of Spanish letters which gave birth to the masterpiece of Cervantes. And it will be well if those who are led by the present celebration of the Tercentenary to the pages of "Don Quixote" are tempted to make some acquaintance with the other authors of the period, whose work is too little known to English readers. Though Spain has long since been outstripped by other nations in the struggle for imperial power, the veriest tyro in historical studies must needs know something of her old days of predominance in the councils of Europe. And the name of the "Invincible Armada" recalls the memory of a time when the Spanish monarch held vast dominions both in the old world and in the new, when his armies had broken the power of France, and his fleets could threaten the liberties of England. Yet it may well be doubted whether many, even among serious historical students, have taken the full measure of the greatness of Spain in the age of Cervantes.

In the changing fortunes of nations, it does not always happen that military power and literary excellence go hand in hand. Thus we may find the modern literature of Hungary rising amid the throes of an unsuccessful revolution, and the great Magyar poet perishing on the field of battle. And in like manner the muse of Mickiewicz came to illumine the dark days of Polish captivity. But in Spain it was far otherwise. For the period of Imperial power, and conquest, and colonising was also the golden age of Spanish literature. It is not always an easy task to trace

the causes of national triumphs in arms or letters. But here it may surely be said that some of the factors may be seen on the surface. The great age of Spanish history may be regarded as the fruit of the long and strenuous struggle for national liberty. At the same time we may see the wave of new intellectual and literary life wafted from Italy, the home of the Renaissance. Meanwhile, the imagination of the people was fired by the discovery of a new world in the West, and their religious zeal was inflamed by the struggle with the German Reformers.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, the greatest figure in Spanish letters, was born in 1547 in the very midst of this period of national glory. In his boyhood old men were still living who could remember the fall of Granada and the expulsion of the last Moorish sovereign from the soil of Spain, and the first tidings of the eventful voyage of Columbus. The dazzling conquests of Cortez and Pizarro were fresh in the popular memory, and the religious revolution in Germany was still in its first stages. The pastoral poetry inaugurated by Garcilaso was already in full vogue. But the Spanish drama, which was soon to be invigorated by the fertile muse of Lope de Vega and culminate in the noble plays of Calderon, was as yet in its infancy.

The student may form some notion of the wealth and variety of the Spanish literature of that age, and at the same time plainly see its distinctly Catholic character, by examining Rivadeneyra's fine *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*. Passing by the old ballads and the volumes of later and lesser writers, he will find a series of some fifty or sixty volumes of the finest flower of the Spanish genius, all the work of Cervantes and his younger contemporaries, or of authors who belonged to the generation immediately before him. And with a pardonable departure from chronological order the very first volume in the series is devoted to the author of "Don Quixote." It may be safely said that but few other national literatures can surpass this collection in its varied excellence, and there are fewer still that can compare with it in the field of religion. For here, side by side with the novels of Cervantes, the poems and plays of Lope

dé Vega and Calderon, and the histories of Mariana, we may see the masterpieces of the Spanish mystics, of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross, and the works of Fray Luis de Granada.

But the reader will do well to remember that even this rich collection of the treasures of Castilian literature by no means gives us all the fruits of the intellectual and literary activity of the Spanish genius in the golden age of Cervantes. For the same centuries also saw what may be called a renaissance of speculative theology, in which the leading part was taken by Spanish authors who wrote in Latin. Many of these were writers and thinkers of no mean order. The theological student will readily recall the names of the Dominicans Soto and Melchior Cano and Bannez and Alvarez, and the Jesuits Molina and Suarez and Vasquez and De Lugo.

It may well be that, at certain periods of history, some other nations have risen to yet greater heights and achieved more enduring triumphs, in some of these varied fields of arms and letters, than those that were won by the Spanish people in the palmy days of Charles and Philip. It is enough to think of the military might of France under Napoleon, or of English literature in "the spacious times of great Elizabeth." But has any nation ever done so much, in all these varied arts of war and peace, at one and the same period of time as the Spain which rises before us from the pictured pages of Cervantes?

The imperial power of Spain is now apparently a thing of the past. But on this point it is well to refrain from hasty judgment and exaggeration. And those who idly talk of decadent and dying races should not forget that the fortunes of nations sometimes fall and rise again. There have been periods in the past when the same facile philosophers might have said the same of France, or England, or Germany. And those who look deeper will probably cherish a large faith in the future of the Spanish people. But, in any case, the classic literature of Spain will remain as an imperishable possession. And the present celebration of the Cervantes centenary comes to us as an appropriate reminder of its unfading vigour and vitality.

For it is well to remember that we are not engaged in commemorating some work of merely historical interest which only affects the present age through its indirect influence on later literature. On the contrary, the immortal novel still lives, and after the lapse of three hundred years still gives undiminished delight to fresh generations of readers.

It is worthy of remark that, in "Don Quixote" Cervantes was, in a manner, anticipating the dominant literary form of later ages. The other masterpieces of his time, whether in his own land, or in Elizabethan England, were in the realms of dramatic poetry, where Cervantes himself had made some ineffectual efforts. And it is yet more remarkable that in this comparatively new region of literature he has taken a position which few, if any, of his successors have been able to challenge. Macaulay says of "Don Quixote," with characteristic force and decision: "It is certainly the best novel in the world, beyond all comparison." Among modern critics there may be some who will hardly accept this uncompromising verdict without some reserve or qualification. Here and there we may meet with those who will as vehemently insist on the supremacy of the work of some other master. And others, again, will desiderate a distinction between different kinds of fiction, and allow Cervantes at most the foremost place in some limited province.

But in any case I may safely say without fear of contradiction that if the great novel of the Spanish master is to be denied the place of supremacy, the preference will not be given to the work of any of his forerunners or contemporaries. The greatest novel, if it be not "Don Quixote," will assuredly be the work of some later writer separated from Cervantes by more than a hundred years. It must be the more finished masterpiece of one who has followed in the steps of the Spanish novelist and profited by his influence and example. For there can be no question that "Don Quixote" directly or indirectly exercised a potent influence on later works of fiction.

This is especially the case in this country, where from the first the book soon won its way to a wide popularity.

And it was in England in the eighteenth century that the novel first began to assert its position as the dominant form of modern literature. We all know how Fielding, the greatest of our earlier novelists, frankly avowed on the title page of his first masterpiece that it was "Written in Imitation of the Manner of Cervantes, author of *Don Quixote*." And it is hardly necessary to add that Fielding in his turn had a powerful influence on the greatest of our later novelists, notably on Dickens and Thackeray. In the case of Sir Walter Scott, again, we learn from his biographer that it was reading the "*novelas*" of Cervantes that first gave him the ambition of excelling in the field of fiction. And, as we know, it was the example of Scott that first inspired Manzoni. The writers of France and Russia, in like manner, have all come under the influence of the Spanish master. And it is significant that one of the greatest Russian novelists, Ivan Turgenieff, has made a critical comparison between the characters of "*Hamlet*" and "*Don Quixote*."

When we come to study the pages of "*Don Quixote*" and attempt to analyse its contents, we shall find, as might be anticipated, that it contains all the varied elements that minister to our delight in works of imaginative fiction, the ordered movement of a story enlivened by the interest of incidental adventures, pleasing descriptions of the places in which the scene is cast, motley groups of characters skilfully drawn with the touch of a master's hand, and a lively picture of life and manners—and through the whole there runs a rich vein of genial humour. At the same time, the work is singularly free from the vicious taint that darkens and defiles so many masterpieces of later fiction. As Sanson Carrasco says in the second part, when he tells *Don Quixote* and Sancho Panza of the newly-published history of their adventures, "*en toda ella no se descubre ni per seméjas una palabra deshonestas, ni un pensamiento menos que Católico.*" Whereupon *Don Quixote* replies that, had it been otherwise, the author would have written lies instead of truth; and he adds, with salutary severity, that historians who make use of lies ought to be burnt like men who coin false money.

This claim is happily no idle boast. It is true, indeed, that certain incidents and expressions in the story are scarcely suited to the more fastidious taste of modern times. But this is in the main a matter of manners rather than morality. And even such a passage as the chapter of accidents in the first night at the inn presents a pleasing contrast to the treatment of a somewhat similar situation in "Joseph Andrews." And as for the absurd suggestion of an anti-Catholic purpose in the Knight's romantic devotion to Dulcinea, the English biographer is clearly right in dismissing it as unworthy of serious consideration. We may add that the charge finds an ample refutation in the touching account of the Moorish maiden's confidence in "Leila Marien."

There is, indeed, another objection which at first sight might seem to have some better foundation. The modern use of the adjective "Quixotic"—"one of the devil's favourite words"—to cast ridicule on many a noble and magnanimous enterprise lends some colour to the belief that the story is a cynical satire on chivalry. And this notion finds some dubious support in Byron's misleading assertion that "Cervantes smiled Spain's chivalry away." But no one who really knows and understands the immortal novel will be likely to fall into this error.

It is true, no doubt, that the main plan of "Don Quixote," in which a mad knight errant falls into a series of ludicrous adventures, might very well be adopted by a cynic who wished to write a satire on the spirit of chivalry and cast ridicule on the heroic deeds of those who venture their lives in defence of the helpless and innocent. But it is perfectly plain that this was not the design of the author of "Don Quixote." In proof of this assertion I can confidently appeal to two unanswerable pieces of evidence, to the two books I have named at the head of this article—the original text of "Don Quixote," and an authentic life of Cervantes.

To take first the testimony of the life, let us see what manner of man was this supposed cynic who exorcised the spirit of chivalry—a strange portent, surely, among the men of that golden age of national enthusiasm and deeds

of daring, when the fiery spirit of the Spaniards was as high as in the days when Bernardo del Carpio "rode o'er Frank and Moor." Happily there is no shadow of doubt in the answer to this question. Miguel de Cervantes was a man of heroic mould, who had won honours in the career of arms before he sought new conquests in the field of letters. He had borne a gallant part in the great fight of Lepanto, where he suffered a grievous wound, and all his life he cherished the memory of that eventful victory. Returning homeward after the Turkish campaigns, he was captured by corsairs and carried to Algiers, where he spent five years in cruel slavery. But nothing could bend or break his dauntless spirit, and it is recorded that he organised many daring schemes of escape, braving the penalty of death, and when the plot was discovered he sought to save his companions by generously taking all the blame on himself. After his release from this long captivity, he still had the spirit to return once more to his military duties, and bore a part in the war with Portugal. Was this a man to mock at true chivalry and deeds of heroism? We might as well look for such a satire from the hand of Bayard.

Before I turn to the evidence afforded by the novel itself, I cannot refrain from adding a word on Mr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's "*Life of Cervantes*." As we have already seen, English authors and English readers are under many obligations to the great Spanish novelist. But the debt has been, in some degree at least, repaid in recent years by the zealous labours of the "*Cervantistas*" of this country. And among these English tributes to the master's memory, the book before us holds a foremost place. It is, indeed, a model of historical biography and literary criticism. In the first place it is what it claims to be, a genuine life of Cervantes. Everything else in the volume is subordinated to this central subject. The character of the hero is finely drawn, and the stirring story of his life is faithfully unfolded before the reader. But the biographer has naturally found it necessary to set the portrait in a background of contemporary history. And his pages in consequence contain a mass of information that will be invaluable to literary and historical students,

even though they may take but a slender interest in the story of Cervantes. The "Tentative Bibliography" is a monument of painstaking labour which has a special interest at this moment, by reason of the evidence it affords of the continuous popularity of "Don Quixote" in the various nations of Europe during the course of the past three centuries. And the annotations to the "Canto de Calíope" throw light on some obscure pages of Spanish literary history.

If the story of his life shows us that Cervantes was not the man to make a cynical satire on true chivalry and deeds of heroism, it is not less plain, from the pages of "Don Quixote," that the author never set before him any such unworthy object. The real and openly avowed subject of his satire was a false literary form—the absurd and extravagant romances of chivalry that were then in fashion. These books are judged and condemned as the cause of Don Quixote's misfortunes, in the memorable inquisition held in his library. They are pursued with relentless mockery throughout the whole of his diverting history, down to the closing page, where the author ironically asks as the reward of his immense labours that his book may be given the same credit which discreet people accord to the popular tales of chivalry.

But what is of more practical importance than the design conceived by Cervantes is the effect really produced by the study of his pages. It may be freely confessed that in less skilful hands than his the method of his attack would be, to say the least, a somewhat perilous proceeding. And though the writer might only aim at the absurdities of the romancists, the adventures of his distracted Knight might prove to be an effectual mockery of nobility and heroism. But, whatever may be the danger of this effect in the case of other satirists, it may be safely said that this unfortunate fate has not befallen Cervantes. I make bold to add that a reader on whom the book produces any such impression has missed the chief literary merit of the great Spanish novel.

Dramatic literature is generally divided between the two muses of tragedy and comedy. On the one hand there

are plays that fill the mind with feelings of pity or of terror, and on the other are those that move us to inextinguishable laughter. And in like manner, though here the dividing line is not so sharply drawn, there are novels of tragedy and novels of comedy. Moreover, in the pages of the same play or the same novel, we may find each of these diverse elements appearing in turn. There are passages, or characters, instinct with pathos, and others that are lit up with radiant humour. Many readers, I imagine, will hastily class "*Don Quixote*" in the category of comedy; and some, perhaps, will claim for the book and its hero the foremost place in the realms of purely humorous fiction. It may be urged that in the contrast between the solemn dignity of the Knight of the Doleful Countenance and the extravagant absurdity of his adventures we have what German philosophers consider the very essence of the ludicrous.

This may be taken as true, but, after all, it is only half the matter. With all his high-flown extravagance and all his laughable adventures, the immortal Knight of la Mancha is at the same time, as all intelligent and attentive readers must needs feel, a sublime and pathetic figure. Plainly as we may see the absurdity of his mistakes, we are none the less kept in full sympathy with his generous aspirations, and we are filled with pity for him in his tragic failures. It is here that the judicious critic will recognise the supreme art of Cervantes. If we make a curious search through the literature of comedy, we may possibly find some characters and incidents that can surpass the humours of "*Don Quixote*." And there can be little doubt that in the masters of the tragic muse we shall find others that make a more pathetic figure. But in the whole range of literature we shall scarcely meet with a character in whom the two elements of humour and pathos are so subtly blended as they are in the Knight of the Doleful Countenance.

In English literature the two extremes of tragedy and comedy may be seen at their best in the typical figures of Hamlet and Mr. Pickwick. And it is significant that the immortal Knight of la Mancha has some points in common

with both of these immortal characters, though the two seem to bear no intelligible relation to one another, and we cannot set their names together without a sense of incongruous absurdity.

We have already heard of Turgenieff's critical comparison of Hamlet and Don Quixote. And as for the other parallel which I have ventured to suggest, many curious points of resemblance will readily occur to the reader's memory, such as the benevolent dignity of the hero in the midst of his ludicrous adventures, the worldly wit and wisdom of his faithful squire, and the burlesque scientific discovery which recalls the memorable blunders of the Spanish Knight Errant. And it is worthy of remark that even here, where the purely ludicrous element is far more conspicuous than it is in the case of Don Quixote, it is never allowed to lessen the reader's sympathy for the hero, or cast a shadow of ridicule on his generous sentiments. Another modern master of fiction has given us a yet closer counterpart of la Mancha's Knight in the noble character of Colonel Newcome, whose strange mistakes and naïve simplicity carry with them no suspicion of a satire on his true chivalry.

If I attempt to set forth what may be called the main argument of "Don Quixote," or, to speak more accurately, of that first part with which alone I am concerned in the present centenary celebration, I can fully appreciate Macaulay's wonder that Cervantes should have made so much out of such unpromising materials.

A respectable Spanish gentleman, of mature age and slender fortune, has read the romances of chivalry till he becomes the victim of a monomania, and conceives the idea of reviving the ancient order of Knights Errant. Donning some old armour, and mounting on a sorry hack, he sets out in search of chivalrous adventures. His first attempts prove disastrous, but he is undaunted by failure. And, persuading a simple neighbour to act as his squire, he sets out again on a longer journey. Among other adventures he attacks a windmill which he mistakes for a giant, he charges a flock of sheep which he takes for an invading army, he puts a funeral procession to flight, and

gives unmerited liberty to a gang of criminals on their way to the galleys. Imagining himself to be enamoured of an unknown lady whom he names Dulcinea del Toboso, he goes to do penance amid the mountains in order to propitiate her favour. His friends lure him homeward by the tale of a pretended Princess who seeks his knightly aid in the recovery of her kingdom. As a last resource, he is bound in his sleep and carried home on a wagon in what he supposes to be a state of enchantment.

The readers of romance may well ask with wonder: Is this really all? Is there no trace of true love in the story, and no record of real adventures? But let them not be dismayed. All these delights are here, in gay profusion. For into the main texture of his diverting tale the master's hand has woven many golden threads of real romance—the loves of Cardenio and Luscinda, of Don Fernando and Dorotea, of Don Luis and the simple Dona Clara, and the enchanting episode of the Christian captive bringing home his bride, the Moorish maiden converted to the true faith by her slave's devotion to "Leila Marien." The imaginary world that floats before Don Quixote's distracted vision is not a whit more wonderful than the real love and chivalry and heroism that surround him. And while he is dreaming of his service to the pretended Princess Micomicona he is the unconscious means of restoring the injured Dorotea to the arms of her princely lover. No wizard's spell can well surpass the wonders wrought in the inn which he takes for an enchanted castle, where, though he knows it not, he is the centre of a group of lost friends found again, and rivals reconciled, and broken hearts made whole, and happy lovers united.

When we look back upon the book and recall these marvels of romance, the poor distracted Knight's strange adventures, his sage discourses on chivalry and arms and letters, relieved by the homely mother-wit of Sancho Panza; we can well understand what it is that has made it for the last three hundred years a source of unfailing delight to readers of every nation. The hero who fought at Lepanto and bore his part in the struggle with the power of Portugal has won a greater and more lasting victory in

the realm of letters. The commissioner who helped to fit out the vaunted Armada for the conquest of England has sent us a more invincible antagonist in his "Caballero de la Triste Figura." And the rude islanders who were undaunted by the fleets of Philip and the arms of Alva must fain yield willing homage to the sovereign art of Cervantes.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

ART. VIII.—AUBREY DE VERE.

Aubrey De Vere. A Memoir based on his unpublished Diaries and Correspondence. By WILFRID WARD.
London : Longmans, Green and Co. 1904.

THE reading public is suspicious of the editing of letters at the present day. Without having had, or being afraid of having, so flagrant an outrage as the Musset-Sand incident on the other side of the Channel, we have had instances in recent times of publications which have been justly taxed with indiscretion. But our anxieties are chiefly concerned with the handling of letters already received among the classics. Such collections hold a unique position ; they have more than the value of an autobiography, for while the latter is drawn up with full premeditation, in his letters the writer reveals himself unconsciously and without reserve. Moreover, the portrait that results from them is precious to us as being in some part our own creation ; we have constructed the features piecemeal as we read ; we have endowed them with attitude and gesture of our own discerning. Hence our uneasiness when the old favourites are tampered with for whatever purpose. Our decent, scholarly Gray shall not be hustled and jostled with impunity ; if Walpole is too blunt-spoken for modern refinement, we turn our back on the fastidious company and go off with the genial gossip to where he can be his authentic self. So jealous are we of our epistolary friendships that we are not enthusiastic at the news of new finds of letters : our Paston or Cowper collections have done their work for us, and we have only faint interest in any further biographical or antiquarian details.

As regards the publication of new series of letters, several considerations arise. How far domestic and intimate personal details are of benefit to the general must depend on the individual case; and while we applaud the refusal of the representatives of Prosper Mérimée to deliver up certain coveted correspondence, and can still feel sore over episodes in the Carlyle revelations, we would not willingly have missed the Browning letters. But how as to the editing? The letters of notable persons should be allowed to speak for themselves in their entirety, with a simple chronological arrangement and the scantiest annotation. If biography be intended, then the letters may take the place of annotation and serve merely for illustration. But we are forced by the volume under notice to confess that cases may exist where another treatment is desirable. The life of Aubrey de Vere is one full worthy of record, for its nobility of character, its literary interest, and, above all, for the psychological study it offers in the change of religion which was its principal outcome. Material for this was at hand in a diary and what we gather to have been a voluminous correspondence. Upon this Mr. Ward has worked, as the result convinces us, with sound judgment, with complete discretion, and with an admirable sense of artistic proportion. The task of selection can have been no slight one; we feel that it has been adequate, that little or nothing has been omitted that could have helped the writer's purpose, and that nothing is included which is superfluous or out of place. Annotation and comment are restrained and proportionate, and for the most part Mr. Ward leaves us to our own reflections and conclusions. The abnegation implied in this we cannot praise too highly, for a chief delight of the volume consists in its wealth of suggestion. For example, what a crowd of possibilities is evoked by the incident which Mr. Ward introduces with the brief phrase—"To meet Ravignan, Döllinger, and Manning was a memorable chance!" (p. 169). The impression left by the book is one of steady, consistent development; but, while realising that this is the essential characteristic of De Vere, we feel convinced that its manifestation to us is due to the careful arrange-

ment of the material, and that the adequacy with which the result is obtained is owing to Mr. Ward's equipment with a masterly comprehension of all the details of his subject.

To say that De Vere's was a deeply emotional nature requires some qualification to be true. Though he read poetry with an Æolian harp in his window, and frequented a certain shady walk for the joy he felt at emerging from it into the sunshine, he was not a sentimentalist in the reproachful sense in which we apply the term to those who habitually trade on their feelings for mere sensation's sake. Affection and reverence were the ruling motives of his life; and given as he was to habitual analysis, we cannot accuse him of an excessive introversion upon his own conduct. Ambition he seems to have abandoned at an early period; not so much from a native humility—though he always held a temperate estimate of his capabilities—as from the tendency to follow his own inclinations rather than any settled scheme of enterprise. So we see him giving up any hope of attaining collegiate distinction in his University studies by his confining himself to literature to the exclusion of Latin classics. When he had definitely chosen literature as his career, he naturally hoped to make his mark, but it was with a half-hearted confidence. He writes to Professor Norton later in his career:—

“Literary labour, with the hope of a result, must be a very animating thing! For a great many years I have never written anything in prose or verse without the knowledge that, on account of jealousies and animosities, either political or polemical, what I wrote was in fact but a letter to some few friends, known and unknown, to be illustrated by a good deal of abuse, and recalled to my recollection by the printer's bill. I am of the unpopular side, you know, in England because I am a Catholic, and in Ireland because I am opposed to revolutionary schemes” (p. 256).

And again to Henry Taylor:

“I wonder how people feel who write with hope. Of course one can dispense with it, if one writes in defence of what one knows or profoundly believes to be the true and the good; but I should like to know what the feeling is like” (p. 255).

We may grant the existence of prejudice by reason of his religion and nationality; but knowing his profound conviction of "the true and good" at all times, we must look for some other let and hindrance to his success, and this may well have been the want of such a deep, settled impulse as ambition would have furnished, without any hurt to the purity and loyalty of his motives. A mere wishfulness for sustaining hope is not a sufficient substitute, and may even be hurtful when it is thwarted. Ambition is of sterner stuff, and overrides prejudice.

Another motive power was wanting in his life: De Vere never married. No hint of a reason for this is found in his letters; we look with some curiosity for one, for although most of his lady friends were of mature age, he shows a manifest capability for attracting and returning female friendship, and does not conceal his susceptibility to their charms. Certainly, if we may apply to him the criterion which he uses towards Cardinal Newman, but which I refuse to accept as infallible—the love of children—his celibacy must have cost him much.

Wanting, then, the two great incentives of ambition and domestic ties, we can understand how De Vere's impulsive nature, thus restricted, must have always given strong expression to his reverence and affection, and how vividly they should colour his correspondence. Towards his parents they reach their highest development. Every line testifies to what he owed them in refinement and high principle; the thoroughness with which he repaid his debt in unselfish devotion is the most beautiful feature of the book. Loss of such parents should be grief too high for comment and too sacred for utterance; but De Vere's was a nature which must communicate itself to its friends, and he was happy in having confidants worthy of such communications. With all his unreserve, there is no false note in it all, no strained pathos, no self-consciousness. He never loses self-control; and this composure of emotion arises as much from his courtesy towards the recipient of his confidence as from the reverence he felt towards those whom he had lost. We are tempted to wish that his parents had been firmer in directing his choice towards a

profession more definite than literature ; but we recall that they had intended him for the sacred ministry, and that his wavering on this point influenced the decisive years of his life.

Most of his friendships were inspired as much by reverence as by affection ; the portion of his correspondence dictated by mere personal attachment is meagre. This worship of gifts and reputations is a beautiful trait in his life. For us it has the additional pathos of being bestowed upon fames which have dulled, or which stand for judgment in the cooler light of a day which is not their own. Henry Taylor's was a name which once held the promise of the highest achievement ; by us he is principally remembered as the friend of men greater than himself. To our generation it is a matter of complete indifference that Southey should have given up poetry for prose ; De Vere's admiration of the nobility of his life cannot move us to take down his biography ; and, with the remembrance of noisy conflicts in the great and lesser reviews of his time, we find it hard to persuade ourselves that De Vere's estimate of him was that of his generation. Coleridge holds us still, but not by his metaphysics ; and if we think highly of Wordsworth, it is not for the mystic ideals which De Vere venerated in him, but for revelations of nature which we recognise as true, and for the expressions of ideas and sentiments which we know to be our own. Still, if the letters give us a lesson of diffidence in our own valuations of contemporary reputations, they give us also a more valuable example of bright, radiating enthusiasm, which is not conspicuous in current appreciations. De Vere cannot be said to have lived on terms of intimacy with his heroes, though he was fortunate in visiting and meeting Wordsworth occasionally ; it is principally with their intimates that the correspondence deals, Sara Coleridge, Miss Fenwick, the Arnolds, and others moved always in the halo of the great names with which they were associated, though we judge them to have been worthy of the reflected glory they bore and of the charming intimacy which the letters reveal to us. A sympathetic nature like De Vere's necessitated that his mind should take fire at another's flame ; the

letters are proof evident that, in the process, his powers were at the highest of intellectual acumen and brilliancy of expression. If he had left no other legacy than his letters they would be sufficient to redeem his life from the stigma of failure.

That De Vere could be eminently practical on emergency, in spite of the unpractical side of his disposition, was shown at the time of the Irish potato famine. This terrible ordeal brought him face to face with misery and unrest in the most appalling form. What compelled him to take up the task of alleviating this, beyond the natural generosity of his character and the sense of family obligation, does not appear; but we are grateful for the episode as revealing characteristics which we should hardly have suspected in him: practical initiative, tact, perseverance in exacting though not ungrateful toil, and a courage which we do not associate with the poetical humour. His friends must have wished that these qualities could have found permanent occupation in some official sphere, where they would have achieved some eminent public service, though they would probably have eclipsed the gentler and more captivating arts which absorbed his life. The strong sense of humour which he claims to have been his saving grace in the grim struggle we should have expected from his Celtic strain. Many a trenchant phrase is inspired by it, and it gives edge to his severest criticism. The following passage, taken from a letter written in 1841 to a cousin at Cambridge, dealing with a band of youthful propagandists who took the title of "Apostles," is an illustration of more than humour, for it shows an early independence and originality of judgment which explain how so impressive a nature was never swayed from its conclusions by its admiration and affection towards others—a trait to be borne in mind in forming our conclusions as to his ultimate conversion to Catholicism:

"If anything were to be done in the way of vindicating Catholic principles, how is it to be done by you and your set? I mean you Apostles or Apostolic men. Are you not of Cambridge, out of which no prophet cometh? Are you not, one and all, utterly profane and unclean? Are you not by profession scandalous,

and by vocation good for nothing? Are you not ironical persons? Is not your creed that everything is everything else? Your practical code to try everything and hold fast to that which is bad? Your devotional system to burn incense to a 'many-sided' kaleidoscope, and raise an altar to your own centre of gravity? Further, do you not take up Church principles in the way of private judgment? Are you not Catholic by way of being original? In a word, is not your very orthodoxy heterodox, and your resolve not to learn something from primitive tradition but to steal something—according to that text, 'I will run after him and *take somewhat of him*?' If you find a page or two in the book of the Church that harmonises with your philosophical reveries, you tear them out; when they suit you no more, you roll them up into a tobacco-stopper. Do you plead guilty to any part of this? If not, can you say so much for your friends? I distrust you Apostles much, and the reason is your cynical Impudence, which you think necessary to balance your Platonic Mysticism. It is reported, and I partly believe it, that one of your order—a clergyman—has written a treatise '*de usu et cultu sermonis ironici*' in creeds and prayers" (p. 49).

We are now, perhaps, in a better position to judge of the charge of effeminacy to which he laid himself open. In his diary (1848) he makes entry: "My severe monitor advising me earnestly, but kindly, to become manly, and accusing me of being effeminate" (p. 82). Elsewhere he takes exception to Miss Barrett's aspiring to write "like a man" instead of aiming at "genius in feminine mould" (pp. 101-2); he also considers that what is taken for passion in Byron's verse is principally force, from which I take the liberty to dissent, and to wonder if he could fall into the elementary error of confusing power with force; he admires Carlyle, but is impatient with him. Certainly his own Muse is as far removed from any turbulence as possible, and I am inclined reluctantly to deny it any consistency of power; facility and charm it has, but virility is not its characteristic. Still, absence of power does not necessarily imply weakness; it is possible to acquit oneself creditably in the functions of life without being a manifestation of robustness. There was nothing mawkish in him, and little that can be counted as weakness. It would be rash to count his delay in accepting Catholicism to his discredit; there is scarcely a case of conscience which does not contain elements defying analysis or classification.

The closest symptom to weakness in his career is the want of professional occupation or obligatory task—nor am I disposed to minimise this ; for, apart from the dignity which it lends to existence, so much of the best work in literature and research has been done in the breathing-spaces of a busy life that I am tempted to see in the fact a normal condition of cause and effect.

When Henry Taylor admonished his friend "to undertake some considerable work in prose" (p. 91), and "Spedding joined" in the admonition, they probably pointed at this want of some dominant aim in his career. De Vere's comment is confined to the remark, "We three drove home together on the top of an omnibus." But the advice implies a criticism of the poet : they could not have given it if they had a conviction of his vocation to any great achievement in poetry. It has already been intimated that the unpopularity which he complained of rested on something more than national and religious prejudice. There is a mystical strain in De Vere's verses which does not make for popularity. Nor is there the sweet coercion, the impelling cogency of inspiration in them. They are all marked with ability and seldom fail to please ; but it is academic art. We are watching a professor who is giving a clever demonstration, and we are not free from the sense that no serious issue depends on the result. Such as they are, however, his compositions will always achieve their end, and cannot fail to be in request by those who value religious sentiment gracefully expressed, sympathy with the milder moods of nature, and imagination moving along a determined metaphysical plane. That he would have reached a higher mark in prose I cannot feel entirely convinced. As a critic, he is honest, if not unbiassed ; his veneration for the lake bards, for instance, does not blind him to their shortcomings. But his outlook was too dreamy and his metaphysical bent too pronounced to have permitted him to deal with matter other than congenial to his tastes. Reading poetry to the moaning of his *Æolian* harp is not suggestive of the critical mood ; nor is it commendable as a workaday habit "never to read good poetry except under the most favourable circumstances

for its enjoyment" (p. 172). We even find him depreciating criticism: "I shall not rest (he writes to Miss Fenwick) till I have written something, in the way of critical illustration, on his (Wordsworth's) poetry; though, after all, it is not worth while, since it is with the heart that even poetic faiths are entertained, and no guide is necessary from the eye to the heart" (p. 172). He makes ample confession of his literary creed in the letters, and it is only justice to him that, in any estimate of his work, his own convictions should be heard. Writing to Henry Taylor (pp. 260 and sqq.) he confesses that, in his early writings, he considered passion "as a thing which poetry ought to be above": but he came to admit that it "ought to be (inclusively) passionate." But this passion must not be sensual or sensuous, except so far as sense is a transparent medium through which the intellectual and moral natures make a show. It must not be connected with anything which is predominantly material. The human element in it must always be a fusion of the material and spiritual: "it should often be such passion as might belong to unfallen humanity, and it should always be of a more elevated nature than belongs to actual life." There is no need to point out that passion passed through such a filter would be too sublimated for the normal palate of our, or, indeed, of any age; and that art criticism, actuated by such principles, would be strangely out of sympathy with the bulk of modern production. It could scarcely have been his early admiration of the Greek drama—"with its touches of things common"—that led to such a point of view. It belongs rather to the later stage, when he passed into the beautiful realm of mediævalism, which he describes so vividly in the preface to his *Mediæval Records and Sonnets* (pp. 354 and sqq.) as living "by admiration, hope, and love"; and we apply to him the verdict he passes upon it—"it was imaginative, not critical."

Some surprising statements have been made as to De Vere's orthodoxy and adhesion to the Catholic Church. There could not be a more consistent or complete conversion than that recorded in this book. One is tempted to say that De Vere was never anything else but Catholic at

heart, and only missed being so externally at any time by accident. He himself says: "I should probably have been a Catholic years ago if I had not been, in some sort, a poet, and had a poetical predilection for the vague in thought and the vagabond in life" (p. 212). He wrote this as a Catholic, looking back on his past frame of mind. I cannot accept the confession of vagueness without reservation. His principal objection to the Cambridge religious movement in 1841 was its rejection of definition and its vagueness of belief. The Oxford movement, on the other hand, he considered to tend to the opposite extreme and to threaten a narrow formality. The distinction is keen, and he shows no vagueness in drawing it. His leanings were to the principles of the Cambridge party, and to the persons of the Oxford movement. He thinks adequate definition in the matter of supernatural truth not possible. On this ground, he denounces the attempt to reduce the Church to a system; but he holds that there must be a plain, unmistakeable creed and method in its practice. In the statement of his principles there may be apparent inconsistency, but there is no missing his meaning. "My object," he says, "is to distinguish between 'definition' and 'exactness,' between system and methodical consistency, and to declare that we must not declare war upon the principle of *precision*, without which there can be no orthodoxy" (p. 55). The religious truths which thus lay beyond definition, but were to be held with exactness, were to be found in Sacred Revelation; the Church was the appointed guardian and enunciator of these truths. His conception of the true Church was, in Mr. Ward's words, "as a real world-wide polity, to which the Christian revelation had been from the first entrusted" (p. 46).

Here is a basis of faith which I cannot consider vague. His prejudice against definition, I fancy, comes from his discipleship to Coleridge. How any follower of that wayward genius could ever hold to a pronounced opinion passes comprehension. Yet De Vere was staunch in his allegiance from start to finish. He was young, it is true, when he confessed to the habit of recommending the

"Aids to Reflection" to his lady friends; but late in life we find him suggesting the "Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit" to a friend interested in the subject of Revelation. The rather puzzling distinction between Reason and Understanding is to be traced to the same source, and his distrust of logical processes in dealings with Faith is shared with, if not derived from Coleridge. In the Third Principle of his "Essay on Faith" Coleridge gives us his interpretation of the relations between Reason and Faith. It runs as follows:—

"Reason and its objects are not things of reflection, discussion, discourse, in the old sense of the word as opposed to intuition; 'discursive or intuitive,' as Milton has it. Reason does not indeed necessarily exclude the finite, either in time or space, but it includes them *eminenter*."

And so on, with much transcendentalism, which doubtless pleased his period as much as it perplexes ours. Finally he reaches the conclusion that "Faith subsists in the *synthesis* of the Reason and the individual Will." The idea is more substantial than it looks at first sight. Perhaps I ought to have begun with his definition of Faith from the same treatise:—

"Faith may be defined as fidelity to our own Being, as far as such Being is not and cannot become an object of the Senses; and hence, by clear inference or implication, to Being generally, as far as the same is not the object of the Senses; and again, to whatever is affirmed or understood as the condition, or concomitant, or consequence of the same."

As he held that Reason is not the object of discussion or reflection, we can understand that De Vere should have considered religious truth to lie outside the province of definition. It is a purely scholastic, not a practical, position. Coleridge's definition of faith is enough to give us moderns a distaste for definition of any kind.

To Coleridge, however, as Mr. Ward points out, De Vere owed his conception of the world-wide polity of the Church, and also his love for metaphysical analysis. Where he differs from his master is in his consistency. The sound, broad principles I have enumerated De Vere held steadily and comprehendingly, and there is no trace-

able break in the religious processes of his mind. We might have expected that the vagueness and generalisation of the Cambridge school would have been a recommendation to him ; but, in spite of his repudiation of the precision and formality of the Tractarian party, he was more in sympathy with them. If I am to name a cause of delay in his conversion, I should be more inclined to attribute it to an ignorance of what Catholicism is than to anything else. His love of analysis and classification was probably a hindrance, in so far as it occupied him with the fitting of facts into his preconceived and prejudiced notions, rather than with the verifying of their identity and bearing. On his first visit to Rome he discovers three influences represented in its historic monuments, all symbolising the "constituent elements" of the Roman Church—the Latin, embodying the desire of universal dominion ; the Greek, permeated with a love of artistic beauty ; and the Egyptian, representing the dominion of the priesthood. These, he considers, were originally blended together and dominated by a fourth element—Christianity ; but re-asserted themselves as the latter lost its power. This ingenious fancy, which he also fashions into verse, may have prevented him from a study of the nature of the dominion claimed by the Church, or of the true functions of the priesthood. His poetical eye was naturally caught by the external fascination of Rome ; but as far as his deductions were confined to such imaginings as the preceding, so far his poetical nature was a hindrance to his acceptance of the truth. His rejection of the claims of Rome in a sonnet quoted by Mr. Ward (p. 45), on the grounds that—

". . . To those the Truth makes free,
Sacred as law itself is Lawful Liberty"—

is a piece of declamation unsatisfactory in one who held so strongly the necessity of an absolute authority in matters of creed. However, I cannot convince myself that there was any blameworthy hesitation from anything that we meet in the letters ; while, on the contrary, his manifest nobility of character is not consistent with such delay.

There was no convulsion in his conversion. As Mr.

Ward points out, we have no indication at what stage he lost his susceptibility as to the dogmatic spirit of the Church. He had no difficulties of belief to overcome; Scepticism, he tells us, had looked at him, but had never laid her hand upon him (p. 212). Though he thinks that he could not have remained a true Christian if he had not become a Catholic, yet he is able to affirm that in most things he made no substantive change. "I feel," he writes, "as if I had been permitted to grasp the reality of those things, the mere projected shadows of which had beckoned me forward all my life to a better land. . . . I seem to myself to have exchanged what, by comparison, was but a religious philosophy and sacred literature, for a Religion" (p. 202).

Such an expression is natural and true; but it does not imply that, in holding these truths speculatively and abstaining from their active profession, there was any insincerity on his part. There was no vagueness, no hesitancy in his acceptance of Catholicity; it was the assumption of a practical rule of life, not a mere succumbing either to æsthetic influence or intellectual conviction. He recognises the occasions of grace that accompanied his new observances. Catholic literature was not a new field for him; but he gave himself now to what seems to have been an enthusiastic study of patristic writings. There is no reluctance at theological definition and system. Some months before his actual reception he confesses that his ideas on the subject had been incorrect:

"I used to have great philosophic objections or antipathies to Rome. Now that I read of Roman tenets in Roman books I am amazed at the vastness of that philosophy, which lurks, unconsciously, in the most practical and only historical form of Christianity" (p. 184).

The letters following on his conversion are the fullest of self-revelation in the book. Fervent in their expression of sentiment, a dignity invests them which points to a complete self-control. Those to his sister and to Sara Coleridge are perhaps the finest in the book. He knew that, in taking the step, he was inflicting pain on his dearest friends and imperilling those relationships which

meant so much in his life. In one instance only his fears were justified ; but he shews that he had counted the cost beforehand, and with no exaggeration in his appeal, professing his own attitude unchanged towards them, he quietly states his case and awaits his sentence. His friends proved worthy of him. The whole episode convinces us of what we might not otherwise have arrived at—that, in spite of the mental flexibility which his metaphysical training induced, he retained a wonderful singleness of mind, owing to his soundness of principle and his chivalrous acceptance of the claims of duty.

We are in excellent good company throughout the book. One more word-picture is added to the votive tablets which hang round the shrine of Coleridge, though it is at second hand. Wordsworth is a prominent actor on the scene ; and if there is no new revelation of his character, what we have is acceptable in that it emphasises the more agreeable traits in him which were called out by hospitality. We have frequent glimpses of Tennyson, unspoilt as yet by his later morbidity, but shewing the sensitiveness which was its germ. Carlyle comes in for some criticism and a qualified worship. Of Browning, courtly and cordial, we have only a fleeting vision. It is a surprise to find Ruskin only distantly alluded to ; we should have expected a strong attraction between two spirits which had much in common. Of Watts we have a cheery glimpse, at the modest beginning of his career. Two or three brief references to the veteran Rogers are delightfully suggestive—"Breakfasted at old Rogers' with my uncle and Lord Northampton—the old man animated but somewhat profane." I may be pardoned for extracting one "plum" from the Diary out of the plenty which prevails, worth a good many pages of biographical dissertation :

"Rogers came, and there was an amusing scene in the garden, Rogers insisting on Wordsworth naming a day to dine with him ; and Wordsworth stoutly exhibiting his mountain lawlessness, stating that he would dine or not as it happened, or as it suited his convenience ; but saying that he was sure he would find the best accommodation of every sort at Mr. Rogers', whether Mr. Rogers was in the house or not. Mr. Rogers at last replied : ' Well, you may as well tell me at once to go to the

Devil ; I can only say that my house, its master, and everything in it are heartily at your service—come when you will " (p. 73).

Of Manning and Newman we have much interesting matter ; of the latter especially we get a valuable insight of his opinions on several weighty questions. The late Cardinal Vaughan is shewn in more than one characteristic trait.

As a study of a character, complex through the habit of metaphysical analysis, but lucid and direct in its manifestations, the book will richly repay careful perusal. Its scenes, and the characters moving in them, belong to a period which has the attraction attaching to the ending of important movements and the beginning of others, of which we are better fitted to judge the influence as it grows in remoteness. Above all, it is precious because it portrays a personality in which religious earnestness, critical insight, and a rare gift of friendship are blended with a chivalrous loyalty which comforts and inspires us in our workaday world.

T. LEO ALMOND, O.S.B.

Roman Decrees.

The Sacred Congregation of Indulgences.

URBIS ET ORBIS.

Decretum quo indulgentia septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum defunctis quoque applicabilis, conceditur Sacerdotibus ceterisque qui cum eo post preces in fine missae ter addant invocationem : “ *Cor Jesu Sacratissimum, miserere nobis.*”

Quo ferventius Christifideles, hac praesertim temporum acerbitate, ad Sacratissimum Cor Jesu confugiant Eique laudis et placationis obsequia indesinenter depromere, divinamque miserationem implorare contendant, SSmo. Dno. N. Pio Pp. X. supplicia vota haud semel sunt delata, ut precibus, quae jussu SSmi. Leonis XIII. post privatam missae celebrationem persolvi solent, ter addi possit sequens invocatio, “ *Cor Jesu Sacratissimum, miserere nobis,*” aliqua tributa Indulgentia Sacerdoti ceterisque una cum eo illam devote recitantibus.

Porro Sanctitas Sua, cui, ob excultam vel a primis annis pietatem singularem, nihil potius est atque optatius, quam ut gentium religio magis magisque in dies augeatur erga Sanctissimum Cor Jesu, in quo omnium gratiarum thesauri sunt reconditi, postulationibus perlibenter annuere duxit ; ac proinde universis e christiano populo, qui, una cum ipso sacerdote, post privatam Missae celebrationem, precibus jam indictis praefatam invocationem addiderunt, Indulgentiam Septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum defunctis quoque applicabilem, benigne elargiri dignata est.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 17 Junii 1904.

L ✠ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus.*

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

Declaratio.

Qua statuitur an et quomodo addenda sit precibus in fine Missae invocatio : Cor Jesu Sacratissimum, miserere nobis.

Ab hac S. Congr. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, quoad Decretum *Urbis et Orbis* die 17 Junii 1904, quo concedebantur Indulgentiae pro invocatione, "*Cor Jesu Sacratissimum, miserere nobis*," quaesitum est :

I. An ad lucrandas Indulgentias sufficiat, ut Sacerdos dicat tantum "*Cor Jesu Sacratissimum*" et populus respondeat "*Miserere nobis*"?

II. An ejusmodi invocationis recitatio, addenda precibus jam indictis post Missae celebrationem, sit obligatoria?

Et S. Congregatio respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Quamvis obligatio proprii nominis a Summa Pontifice non sit, vult tamen Beatissimus Pater, ut uniformitati consulatur, ac proinde singuli sacerdotes ad eam invocationem recitandam adhortentur.*

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. C. die 19 Augusti 1904.

L ✠ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

The Sacred Congregation of Rites.

Simplex sacerdos jure proprio reconciliare nequit ecclesiam violatam, licet tantum benedictam, absque Episcopi delegatione.

Rituale Romanum docet, Ecclesiam violatam, si sit consecrata, ab Episcopo ; si vero benedicta tantum, a Sacerdote delegato ab Episcopo esse reconciliandam. Quum vero circa delegationem ab Episcopo obtinendam pro Ecclesia benedicta non sit unanims Doctorum sententia, ad inordinationes praecavendas, hodiernus Rmus. Episcopus Nolanus a S. Rituum Congregatione humiliter petit :

"Utrum simplex Sacerdos possit jure suo Ecclesiam benedictam, ubi violata fuerit, reconciliare sine ulla Ordinarii sui delegatione?"

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secre-

tarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, propositae quaestioni respondendum censuit :

"*Negative et servetur Rituale Romanum, tit. viii., cap. 28.*"
Atque ita rescripsit. Die 8 Julii 1904.

L ✕ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

✕ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

Quomodo metienda distantia inter duas Ecclesias quoad privilegium *de Portiuncula* nuncupatum :

Eminentissimus et Rmus. Archiepiscopi Mediolanensis huic Sacrae Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae sequentia dubia exhibuit solvenda circa modum quo metienda est distantia inter duas Ecclesias, quae privilegio Indulgentiae *de Portiuncula* nuncupatae ditatae sunt, quum in Brevibus Apostolicis nec non in rescriptis hujus S. C. apponitur clausula : "Dummodo eo loco nulla extet Franciscalis Ecclesia, aut alia simili ditata privilegio, vel, si extet, unius saltem milliarum spatio ab ea distet," nimirum :

I. Qualis est mensura metrica, quae unius milliarum respondeat ?

II. Quomodo talis distantia (unius milliarum) sit metienda ; an ex via communi, quae ab omnibus peragatur, vel ex quibusdam semitis, quae utramque Ecclesiam inter se conjungunt ?

III. An clausula supradicta privilegium irritum faciat, quando distantia non existit inter unam et alteram Ecclesiam privilegio Portiunculae ornatam ?

Et Emi. Patres in generali Conventu ad Vaticanum habito die 18 Augusti 1904 propositis dubiis responderunt :

Ad I. "*Milliarium respondet metris 1840.*"

Ad II. "*Affirmative quoad primam partem, negative quoad secundam.*"

Ad III. "*Affirmative post annum 1878, quo praefatae clausulae appositio fuit praescripta.*"

Quas Emorum. Patrum responsiones relatas ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto in audientia habita die 14-Septembris 1904. SSmus. D. N. Pius PP. X. benigne confirmavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. C. die 14 Septembris 1904.

L ✕ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus.*

✕ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

Indulgentia conceditur invocantibus SS. Nomina Jesu et Mariae :

Beatissime Pater,

Antonius Maria Grasselli Archiepiscopus Viterbiensis, ad Thronum S. V. provolutus, humiliter petit pro omnibus Christifidelibus toties quoties labiis, aut saltem corde, SSma. nomina Jesu et Mariae devote invocaverint, indulgentiam 300 dierum, applicabilem quoque animabus in Purgatorio degentibus. Quod etc.

Ex audientia SSmi. die 18 Septembris 1904.

SSmus. D. N. Pius PP. X. benigne annuit pro gratia juxta preces. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscunque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, die 10 Octobris 1904.

L ✕ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Praefectus*.

✕ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius*.

De genuflexione duplici peragenda a Canonicis ad circulum venientibus et ab illo recedentibus ad "Agnus Dei."

A Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione expostulatum fuit :

Utrum in Missa solemni coram Episcopo celebrata Canonici venientes ad circulum et ab illo recedentes ad *Agnus Dei*, utroque genuflectere versus Altare debeant vel debeant et possint genuflectere unico genu ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario atque audita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae rescribere rata est : *Affirmative* ad primam partem, nisi ex consuetudine obtinuerit genuflexio simplex juxta Decretum *Rhemen*. 20 Maii 1904,* et quoad secundam partem provisum in prima.

Atque ita rescripsit die 4 Novembris 1904.

L ✕ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

✕ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

In omnibus defunctorum Anniversariis duplicantur antiphonae :

Hodiernus sacris caerimoniis praefectus in Ecclesia Cathedrali Ceneten., de consensu Rmi. Smi. Episcopi sequens dubium

* The Decree referred to was duly published in the January number of this Review.

Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi, pro opportuna declaratione humillime proposuit, nimirum :

Utrum verba Rubricae Ritualis Romani cap 4 *Officium defunctorum*, quae ita leguntur, "*In die vero . . . anniversario duplicantur Antiphonae*," intelligenda sint de primo tantum anniversario vel etiam de ceteris anniversariis sequentibus annis celebrandis ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae respondendum esse censuit :

Negative ad primam partem, *Affirmative* ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit die 4 Novembris, 1904.

L ✠ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius*.

Dubia varia.

Hodiernus Rmus. Episcopus Giennensis in Hispania summo-
pere cupiens ut in Ecclesia Cathedrali dioeceseos sibi commissae
sacrae functiones rite peragantur, a Sacrorum Rituum Congre-
gatione insequentium dubiorum declarationem supplex exposu-
lavit ; nimirum :

I. Utrum tolerari possit celebrandi unam missam lectam in
altari majori quod est etiam chorale, dum in choro canitur
Prima ?

II. Utrum canonici missam sollemnem celebrantes in Ecclesia
cathedrali adhibere licite valeant duo missalia, unum in cornu
Epistolae, et aliud in cornu Evangelii ?

III. An permittenda sit praeintonatio *Gloria in excelsis* in
missis sollemnioribus a duobus cantoribus dum in choro canitur
Kyrie Eleison ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto Secretario,
auditoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae rescribendum censuit.

Ad I, II, et III. *Negative et servantur Rubricae et Decreta*.

Atque ita rescripsit die 11 Novembris, 1904.

L ✠ S.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praef.*

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secret.*

Science Notices.

Jupiter's Sixth Satellite.—The discovery of Jupiter's sixth satellite on January 14 is one of the first fruits of Professor Perrin's modified Crossley reflector. One of the most remarkable facts concerning the most recently-discovered satellite is perhaps its distance from the planet. This was estimated on the day of its discovery to be about six million miles, a distance far exceeding that which separates the outermost of the four satellites discovered by Galileo from its primary. The telegram announcing the discovery gave the distance on January 4 as $45'$, whilst that of the outermost of the four satellites discovered by Galileo does not exceed $10' 5$. The fifth satellite, discovered by Professor Bernard in 1892, which is the innermost of all the satellites, is not quite half the distance from Jupiter that the moon is from the earth.

The comparatively greater distance of the newly-discovered satellite is realised when the times of the revolutions about the primary of the sixth and fourth satellites are compared. If the distance above quoted is the outward limit of the satellite's orbit, it should make one revolution about its primary in about half a year; whereas the time taken by the fourth satellite in performing this is only 16·7 days.

The knowledge yet received concerning the new satellite is very limited, but we are told that on January 4 its positive angle was 269° ; the daily rate of its apparent approach towards Jupiter $45''$ —about 100,000 miles.

Its magnitude is 14—a magnitude fainter by 1 than that ascribed to the fifth satellite. In a concise article which appeared in *Nature* on the subject on January 19, it is suggested that the fainter image may indicate that the diameter of the sixth satellite is less than that of the fifth, which can

scarcely be greater than 100 miles. It is, however, pointed out that a smaller reflecting power might account for the relative faintness.

In the same article it is also suggested that the immense gap between the fourth and sixth satellites may contain other satellites as yet undiscovered.

The Exploration of the Air by Kites and Ballon-Sondes.

—In the course of the suggestive paper by Dr. Hergesell on the work of the International Aëronautical Commission, read before the Aëronautical Society of Great Britain in December last, considerable reference was made to recent improvements in the methods of taking meteorological observations by means of kites and ballon-sondes.

It was pointed out that the commission has ever urged the adoption of kites and kite-balloons as a means of taking permanent observations in the free air. The idea has been carried out pre-eminently by the Prussian Meteorological Institute, and especially in the Aëronautical Observatory at Tegel. The admirable installations of Monsieur Assmann have proved the possibility of daily ascents and of obtaining daily vertical air sections. Recently the records of the daily ascents have been sent on by wire to the *Scewarté*, and published the same day as they were obtained. This, Dr. Hergesell thinks, is a most valuable branch of meteorological investigation. It is one that must bear abundant fruit, and no effort should be spared to ensure the establishment of such permanent aerial stations throughout the world. The German efforts in this direction have been successfully multiplied. At the kite station at Hamburg, founded by Herr Küppen, ascents are made and observations collected nearly every day, and the results are published in the weather reports in the German *Scewarté*.

Kite stations are pre-eminently dependent on the weather. The experiments can only be carried out successfully in places where there is always wind of sufficient force and regularity, as, for instance, on the North Sea at Hamburg. Far from the sea there is too much variability in wind conditions.

Dr. Hergesell has carried out some kite experiments in mountains, especially at the top of the Vosges, from the balloon belonging to Grebwiller, which is a meteorological station in the Alsatian section. These experiments took place in the autumn and winter of 1900. But even at such a height the

wind was either too weak or too strong, and therefore unfavourable to continuous and regular work. Still, it is of great importance to have permanent aerial data from such an inland observatory, and so Dr. Hergesell came to think of the Lake of Constance. By means of boat-speed the wind conditions were ameliorated, and in July, 1900, he first made experiments with a motor-boat. Mr. Lawrence Rotch, of the Blue Hill observatory, was the first to send up a recording instrument on a nearly calm day by the aid of a steamer. This was in August, 1901. He then crossed the Atlantic in one of the regular liners and took kite observations on six days out of eight. The account of his experiments was read at the British Association's meeting held at Glasgow in 1901. At the Berlin Conference the new idea grew, and Mr. Rotch's proposal to explore the conditions of the upper atmosphere over tropical seas and oceans by the aid of steamboat kite combinations, induced Dr. Hergesell to continue his Lake Constance experiments, and since June, 1902, he has sent up kites there on all the international dates, and on other days as well, by the help of a motor-boat or of a big steamer. In Dr. Hergesell's opinion the success of these experiments justified the statement that by means of a suitable boat kite ascents can be made whatever the meteorological conditions may be. If the wind is too weak to get up a kite, the speed of the boat is added to it, and the sum of their velocities is always sufficient. If there is too much wind, the boat is set to go with the wind, or at a suitable angle, so as to relieve the pressure on the cable.

So far Dr. Hergesell has got up kites to 2,000 metres in a dead calm. He states that the only reason he has not got them any higher is that as yet he has not got a sufficiently rapid boat nor a steam windlass. Dr. Hergesell adds that, thanks to the German Empire, there will soon be a permanent aeronautical observatory on Lake Constance.

Besides Germany, there are other States that are earnestly striving to establish permanent observatories in the free air. Thanks to Messieurs Teisserenc de Bort, Hildebrandsson and Paulsen, there is now the Franco-Scandinavian station for aerial soundings at Vibourg, Denmark. This is quite one of the most remarkable meteorological enterprises in existence.

At St. Petersburg General Rykatchew has founded a kite station almost incessantly active, and which plays a special part in the international ascents.

Monsieur Teisserenc de Bort has enlarged his already extensive Paris stations by starting the Scientific Aërial Park at Ittville.

While the position of Trappes is particularly favourable to kite ascents, Ittville is the focus of ballon-sondes ascents. A very large installation permits of the use of paper balloons of quite extraordinary cubic feet capacity, as much as 16 or 17 kilometres; these can reach heights which were inaccessible to any other station until the advent of Herr Assmann's rubber ballon-sondes. The discovery of the famous isothermal zone, from 12,000 to 15,000 metres, was the first achievement of these technical niceties and unwearied researches.

Other technical improvements in ballon-sondes are due to Herr Assmann. The limit of height for open ballon-sondes has been attained by Monsieur Teisserenc de Bort's happy design in paper balloons. But it occurred to Herr Assmann to make his balloons of a very elastic material, and then send them up closed. An open paper balloon had to be of 100 metres gas capacity to be able to attain to a height of 15,000 metres; while one of these closed indiarubber balloons will attain the same height with only an initial gas capacity of 4 metres. Thus the sending up of a ballon-sonde is much simplified. Neither shed nor a large personnel is necessary; the means at the disposal of any ordinary meteorological station are enough. This method has also the secondary advantage of diminished initial cost, though the late rise in the price of indiarubber militates a little against this.

This amelioration in the technical problems has been followed by an improvement in the registering instruments. New thermometers have been designed in Paris, Berlin, and Strasbourg.

Monsieur Teisserenc de Bort has shown how important it is to isolate most carefully the temperature column from the rest of the registering apparatus, and how much more exactness is thus obtained in the registration of the temperature of the higher atmospheres.

Dr. Hergesell has turned his special attention to the study of the sensitiveness of the thermograph, trying to produce a thermometric indicator of the least thermic inertia, and therefore most adaptable to the conditions of natural ventilation in ballon-sondes ascents. He has constructed a tube thermometer which has been described in the official accounts of the Berlin Conference. This is an instrument which will register even in

very rapid ascents, the smallest thermic variations, and especially the variations of temperature.

Another instrument to which notice is called is Herr Assmann's valuable barothermohygro-chronographe, in which the action of the pressure record also registers both time and temperature. This arrangement obviates in some degree the inconvenience of clockwork stoppages.

Artificial Rubies.—In *Annales de Chimie et de Physique* of September last will be found an account of M. Verneuil's method of obtaining artificial rubies by fusion. M. Verneuil's researches may be said to be rather a continuation of the work previously undertaken by Gaudin than the origination of a new process. Gaudin obtained, by fusing potassium or ammonium alum with chrome alum, small globules. These became opaque on solidification, but they had the composition of the ruby. To Becquerel is due the demonstration that these globules had the cleavage of corundum and contained small cavities lined with crystals of ruby. Gaudin noticed the uniform density of the oxide before and after fusion, and on his observation was based his belief that alumina could not exist in the vitreous state. This view is supported by present knowledge, since the transparent alumina obtained by fusion is a completely crystalline mass.

Further investigation of the problem was made in 1886 by Charles Friedel. He obtained corundum by fusion. In this specimen most of the properties of the ruby were manifest, but it contained bubbles and had a rather low density, facts which differentiated it from the natural gem.

M. Verneuil's researches have led him to conclude that the obtaining of the fused material in a transparent state involves the rigorous fulfilment of certain conditions. As the solidification of water may be transparent or opaque according to the method of cooling it, so it is in the case of alumina. He found that it is only the portions of alumina which are fused in the cooler parts of the flame which remain transparent on solidification. However carefully the cooling is conducted, the fused mass is characterised by great brittleness, though it is slightly less so if a very small supporting surface is employed.

In M. Verneuil's apparatus the blow-pipe and furnace-tube is vertical. The alumina mixed with the purified chromic acid is finely powdered and is admitted by a fine sieve. Very

ingenious is the arrangement by which an electro-magnet causes regular taps to be given to this sieve, so that the powder falls down the tube intermittently in a series of fine layers. It forms a cone at the bottom, and when the cone reaches a point in the tube which is of sufficiently high temperature the apex fuses, and the fused material extends upwards in long filaments till it reaches a still hotter part of the furnace, where it develops a spherical mass.

This, when solidified, is the ruby. It is necessary that the cooling is very gradual to secure the regular arrangement of the crystalline particles. If this precaution is neglected an opaque product is the result. On the careful detachment of the ovoid mass when cold, it splits up into two almost equal parts, though not along a cleavage plane. The product obtained is an individual crystal. The direction of its principal optical axis is found to be nearly identical with that of the larger axis of the ovoid.

These rubies of the laboratory have identical chemical, physical, and optical properties with the gems of nature.

Notes on Travel and Exploration.

Antarctic Exploration.—The geographical results of the voyage of the *Discovery* furnish some data of the conditions prevailing in the great South Polar continent. A heavily ice-capped mountainous region, with valleys running to the sea through the lower coast ranges, was what Captain Scott found in that portion of Victoria Land explored by him, as described at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on February 27. This coast, tracked by him for 800 miles poleward from Cape Adare, south of New Zealand, he conjectures to be possibly the frontage of a great continental area, stretching past and including the Pole, to its opposite extremity in Graham Land to the south of Cape Horn. Whether this point, again, be connected with the broken ring of coast-line projecting into the South Seas to the east in Coats Land, Enderby Land, Kaiser Wilhelm Land, and other land fragments on the Antarctic Circle, can only be matter of surmise; but if so, we should have the outline of a continent larger than Europe, and covering the Polar area with a much greater extension on its eastern than on its western side. The features of Victoria Land are on a scale characteristic of a large and continuous land-mass. The summit of the interior plateau, between 8,000 and 9,000 feet above the level of the sea, is only reached at a distance of 60 miles from the coast, and this plain extends as far as the eye can see at a uniform level in every direction. One of the most interesting facts recorded is that of the shrinkage of its mighty glacier system, as shown by moraines running for thousands of feet along the mountain sides. As a consequence, the great ice-barrier, with a cliff face from 100 to 200 feet high, no longer fed by its discharge, has retreated some twenty or thirty miles since its discovery by Ross sixty years ago. Captain Scott

believes this ice-sheet to be afloat, and no longer either aground or attached to the land, of whose glacier overflow it was the accumulation. Glaciation was found greater at the Balleny Islands on the Antarctic Circle than in Victoria Land considerably farther south, and it was pointed out that greater severity of climate, by diminishing the moisture-bearing capacity of the winds, would necessarily reduce snowfall, and with it glaciation.

Exploration in Eastern Nigeria.—Interesting reports have been received by the Royal Geographical Society of the progress of Lieutenant Boyd Alexander's expedition through the country between the Lower Niger and Lake Chad. Especially valuable was the exploration of the eastern affluents of the Niger, with two steel boats on the Hodgetts' principle of a double keel or centrally curved-in bottom, as the principal means of transport. In these, supplemented by native canoes, they navigated the Benue as far as Ibi, where they made a base camp, and carried out an overland survey of the country as far as Bauchi. From Ibi the river voyage was resumed, with Ashaka on the upper Gongola as its immediate objective. This river, a right bank tributary of the Benue, presents considerable difficulties to navigation, and is, like all African streams, subject to great changes of volume. The ascent was made during the flood season—in July and August—and a month later it was fordable. It is impeded by several stretches of rapids, up which the boats had to be towed from the bank. A famine among the natives on its lower course rendered the provisioning of the expedition difficult. At Ashaka began an overland march of three days' travel to Gujiba, the steel boats being carried in sections, slung on bamboo poles by rings in the gunwale. From Gujiba, at a distance of five days' march, or 120 miles, Geidam, in Portuguese territory, was reached, and here the party took to the water again on the Komadugu, which flows into Lake Chad at Bosso on its north-western corner. The river, though very tortuous, was easily navigated, and gave a depth, at the season of the expedition, of six or seven feet of water. After December, however, it begins to shrink rapidly, and for a great part of the year consists only of disconnected pools of water in a sandy bed. One member of the expedition, Lieutenant Claud Alexander, brother of its leader, has unfortunately fallen a victim to enteric fever since it reached Lake Chad.

Condition of San Domingo.—The financial and administrative confusion which have led to a serious inroad on the autonomy of San Domingo does not seem visibly to affect the social condition of the Republic. The revolution in progress during the last four years involves no disorder outside the actual zone of operations, and the *Times* West Indian correspondent describes its general aspect as quiet and pacific. Negro blood is by no means so unadulterated here as in the neighbouring Republic, and the Carib stock, on which other races were grafted, is traceable in the light brown skin, straight black hair, and comparatively straight features of some of the inhabitants. Africans, Moors, and Spaniards have modified the original type, and there is a considerable population of pure negro descent recruited by immigration from the United States. Among the upper classes there are a number of creole whites descended from Spanish settlers, mostly inhabiting the towns of the interior, and there is a large immigrant business population—American, British, German, French, and South American. The language is Spanish, and the State religion Catholic, but it is much more largely practised by women than by men, as the latter are, for the most part, materialists and freethinkers. The bulk of the population lives by agriculture of the most primitive type, soil and climate yielding crops with the minimum of cultivation. They live in palm-thatched wooden huts, and are kindly and hospitable, their chief amusements being dancing and cock-fighting. On the larger plantations more scientific methods are used, and cocoa is gradually tending to supersede other crops—even tobacco, the former staple product. The firm of Suchard obtains some of its raw material here, and is said to own a plantation of 200,000 trees in full bearing. Coffee, sugar, rice, and fruit can also be profitably grown, and valuable timber is such a drug in the market that mahogany and satinwood are used for posts and palings.

Politics and Administration.—A series of civil wars between rival candidates for the presidency constitute the recent history of the Republic, and the actual President, Carlos Morales, is in a state of chronic belligerency with an ex-President, Jimenes. The former is a light-coloured native, and an ex-priest. The revenue, mainly derived from customs, is always mortgaged, so that no money is in hand to pay for anything, and it is raised by advances at $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 per cent. per month

from the principal merchants in the various towns to pay the salaries of the military and officials. The merchants are often ruined, as they have in many cases to borrow the money themselves, and the effect on the country is disastrous. Servants must be paid in advance to have their luggage brought, farmhands before starting work, and the general disorganisation extends through all grades of society.

Growth of Buenos Aires.—Few Europeans, we should imagine, realise how great and splendid a city is the Argentine capital as described in Sir Thomas Holdich's entertaining volume. (*The Countries of the King's Award*. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1904.) With its population of 800,000 to 900,000, it boasts of ranking next to Paris as the second Latin city of the world, and it is declared to be "undoubtedly the capital of South America by right of its position, its wealth, its population and its magnificence." In the number of its inhabitants, increased from 180,000 to its present figure in little more than thirty years, it stands tenth on the world's list, and in area fourth, being surpassed only by London, Marseilles and Manchester. It concentrates, indeed, too much, nearly one fifth, of the total Argentine population, which is much more wanted elsewhere; and of its citizens one-third, 300,000, are Italians. It owes its splendid aspect to the extravagance of the Celman administration (1886-90), which plunged the country almost into beggary, but at least left a valuable asset in the improved capital. Its principal feature is the Avenida de Mayo, a splendid avenue, tree-shaded, and lined with handsome buildings, running through the entire length of the city, and forming a street with which few, either in Paris or London, can compare. The squares and parks are all laid down with an artistic eye, and, more important still, a drainage system, constructed at heavy expense to the municipality, has placed Buenos Aires in the front rank of the healthy cities of the world. Its poor quarter is the Boca or port, the old town, overcrowded, squalid and picturesque, still containing wooden houses built on piles in the river mud. The intricacy of the approach to Buenos Aires, while giving it security from attack in case of war, handicaps it as a commercial port, and it is with difficulty that a channel for ships drawing twenty-five feet of water is found in the wide estuary of the Plate, with its volume

of dull red water sweeping unbroken from horizon to horizon. The entire Argentine coast is so shelving as to present great obstacles to shipping, and its great port of Bahia Blanca is reached by a twisting channel marked by buoys through shoals and sand-banks long before the land comes in sight. It is the great naval and military port, and the harbour has splendid accommodation for ships of all classes.

Scenery of Patagonia.—Sir Thomas Holdich, who has seen many lakes in many parts of the world, gives the palm of beauty over all to that of Todos Santos in Southern Chile. From behind a forest-clad foreground it mirrors some of the giant volcanoes of the Andes, with snows hanging cloud-like between blue and blue. It has a rival in the Laguna Frias on the Argentine side of a low pass, a sheet of deep sea-green water overshadowed by the mighty mass of the Tronador. In the same region is the larger lake Nahuel Huapi, whose district, when rendered accessible by railway, is expected to develop into the South American Switzerland, the haunt of tourists from two hemispheres. All this Pacific slope of the Andes is clothed in dense forest, in which bamboo is seen growing beside varieties of pine and larch suggestive of northern vegetation. This dense growth forms an obstacle to exploration, and as the roads are few in number and of the most primitive description, little of the country can be seen except from the sea. The coast is broken into a series of straits and fiords, many of them too narrow for navigation by large ships, but all the more beautiful from the approach of their mountain shores. North of the Straits of Magellan is the Argentine territory of Ultima Esperanza, which is in process of development as a grazing and ranching country. Here and elsewhere in Argentina the native grass is "stipe," dry and tussocky, but with specially fattening qualities for sheep. On the Pampas it is displaced by the English or foreign grasses, which grow so luxuriantly that sixty sheep may be fed on an acre. The ornamental plant called the Pampas grass in this country is little seen except in plantations or gardens. The wool industry thrives and flourishes in the grass uplands of the Ultima Esperanza, and the sheep, when too old to furnish fleeces of the best quality, are fatted for the *graseria*, where they are boiled down and exported in this form. Feeding with

them in a state of complete wildness may be seen the South American "ostrich" so called, a less stupid bird than it gets credit for, since it has learned that it is safe from the hunter if mixed with the flock, which must not be harried or disturbed. There are many German colonists, in which Catholics (mostly from Westphalia) are mixed with Protestants, and each denomination has its church. Religious feeling, according to Sir Thomas Holdich, runs very high amongst them.

Notices of Books.

L'Afrique Chrétienne. Par Dom H. LECLERCQ. 2 vols.
Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique.
Paris : Librairie Victor Lecoffre.

A GOOD monograph at a reasonable cost which should deal with the history of the brilliant, though short lived, African Church, has long been desired ; and this short history by Dom Leclercq will go far, we believe, to supply the want. Certainly no more interesting or important portion of ecclesiastical history could possibly be found than that which includes the life and work of Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine. Dom Leclercq is by no means neglectful of the controversial side of the history in its bearings on the questions of the present day ; and those who desire material for answering the contentions of Anglicans will find all they require in these pages, although the work is arranged of course primarily on a historical basis.

Perhaps the most useful part of the work is, after all, not so much the portion which deals with the brilliant periods of St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, when the Church of Africa was at the summit of its glory, as that which deals with the mournful and comparatively little known period of its decadence and fall, after the death of Justinian in 565. Hardly any organised Christianity survived the Arab invasion of the seventh century ; but Dom Leclercq is able to point out in the pages of Arab historians passages which show that the Christian religion in some form survived till a much later period. At Tlemcen there were churches still in use in the middle of the tenth century, and in 1053 there were still five African bishops

in existence. The final fall of Christianity took place, and the final vestige of the Church of Africa was effaced, in the twelfth century, under the dominion of the Almohades dynasty.

A. S. B.

Studies Contributed to the "Dublin Review" by the late Dr. F. R. Gasquet. Edited by DOM H. N. BIRT, O.S.B. Art and Book Company. 8vo; pp. xx.-349. Price 4s.

THE collection of selected articles contributed to the DUBLIN REVIEW between April 1882 and January 1895, by the late Dr. Gasquet, are a worthy monument to a Catholic layman who devoted his time and intelligence to a deeper study of the questions of the day touching upon the faith, and who manifested his love and loyalty to the Church by an enthusiastic and reverent exposition of various subjects. The editor is to be congratulated on the choice he has made, for not only are the articles in themselves interesting and valuable, but the wide range of subject matter which they represent gives us a good idea of Dr. Gasquet's industry and capacity.

One group of articles is more closely connected with his profession, yet he does not "talk shop" but speaks more as a philosopher than as a medical man; though the knowledge he had gained in the latter capacity gave him undoubted advantages. Writing on the physiological psychology of St. Thomas he makes the following interesting statement:

"I was myself led to adopt the Thomist philosophy, not from any preconceived idea of its authority, but from finding it had so completely anticipated, in all its main outlines, the methods and inferences of physiology. I was struck with the contrast between this and the modern schemes of philosophy, which seemed to have no special relation to physical science even when they were not contradicted thereby."

A number of articles treating liturgical and patristic topics are distinguished by solid and lucid statements. Though great progress has since been made in some of the subjects, the articles in the collection are still valuable as giving us a certain stage of development, so that a beginner may safely use them as a starting point.

It is to be hoped that besides giving information and putting before us a picture of an exemplary Catholic layman the "Studies" may also have a moral effect on our own generation.

The Bishop of Newport's words on this point (Introduction p. xi.) are more apt to express this idea than any of our own would be.

"This book," His Lordship says, "should especially stimulate our young laymen. There are not many men, however busy, or taken up with professional pursuits, who cannot seriously study some branch of Christian divinity or philosophy. A few men of this kind would strongly influence their generation, and we might hope that there would appear, not unfrequently, a commanding intelligence who would arrest the attention of the world by that union of good science and strong faith which might be realised more frequently were science less insolent and faith more laborious."

L. N.

Practical Morals: A Treatise on Universal Education. By JOHN K. INGRAM, LL.D. London: Adam and Charles Black. 8vo; pp. x.-167. 1904

A SHORT-SIGHTED man may see very well what comes within the range of his vision, but of all the rest he remains ignorant, unless he is willing to learn from others. He may, moreover, be the sort of man who only occasionally realises that others are not so short-sighted as himself. Possibly the author, or more accurately the compiler, of this curious book is not so short-sighted as unobservant. He seems rarely to be conscious of the consequences of far-reaching statements, and gives the impression of a man who steadily closes his eyes in the presence of inconvenient difficulties. In any case, like Auguste Comte, the master on whose word he peacefully reposes, he is painfully wanting in the saving sense of humour. And the fact that he takes himself so seriously becomes even bewildering when he confides to us that he is an Irishman. The chief defect of the work, so it appears to us, lies in the circumstance of the writer's inflexible gravity and self-complacency. The book is an attempt to exhibit, in a more or less popular form, the theory of Comte on practical morals, or, as we might say, on the qualities, duties and methods of a good life; hence all the fundamental principles of philosophy, religion and morals are necessarily pre-supposed; and as, of course, was to be expected, pre-supposed in the sense of Comte and the Positivists. We have, therefore, now no quarrel with the writer that he is not a theist, or that his divinity is humanity idealized, and, in spite of himself, an abstraction (p. 2). Nor do we discuss the

intellectual groundwork or structure of his system of thought and actions ; neither do we concern ourselves with the puerile assumption of the terms, forms, phraseology and methods, which by right of invention, use, or prescription belong to the Catholic Church, such as Sacraments, Pope, High Priest, Temporal Power, Universal Church, the faithful, Dogma. He adopts the word "probation" in its theological sense ; he retains the term "soul," which he describes as "no mystical entity," (!) but the internal function (!) of the brain. He recommends various exercises of prayer, a thing of course most useful and necessary, but in the absence of a definite and personal divinity—a somewhat embarrassing need—he has been obliged to follow Comte in the pious recommendation of adoration to be paid to the mother, as the only real Providence (!). Elsewhere he errs rather by excess in assigning to each individual three Guardian Angels (mother, wife, and daughter) ; these also every devout Positivist is exhorted to address "by a momentary ejaculation."

When the whole book is saturated with the unsubstantial, the purely imaginary, it is hardly worth while to discuss ethical points in detail, or even to mention such as offer material for discussion, as, for instance, the statement that "morality has its root in the feelings," or the peculiar views advocated with reference to the "family wage."

Still it is a pleasure to acknowledge that several important subjects are handled with delicacy and sound sense ; for example, his instructions on sexual purity, on suicide, and capital punishment ; the position of woman and the influence of the mother might have been adopted from Catholic writers, or the current opinion of good Catholics, as with Auguste Comte was probably the case.

H. P.

The present Position of Catholics in England. By J. H. NEWMAN, D.D., with an introduction by W. BARRY, D.D. London : Catholic Truth Society. Price 2s. 1904.

MANY Catholics are familiar with these lectures of Cardinal Newman. They know their power and cogency. But they are as much to the point in these present days as they were when delivered in 1851. The Catholic Truth Society has done a service not only to Catholics, but also to many outside the Church, in bringing them again before the public in a readily accessible form. I say that it has done

a service even to many outside the Church : because, if they will only read them, it will save them from many an unkindly word, and from many an unjust thought about Catholics. The present edition is prefaced by an introduction by Dr. W. Barry, in his usual flowing and impetuous style, as to the merits of Cardinal Newman and the present volume.

J. A. H.

Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company. By the Rev. H. G. ROSEDALE, M.A., D.D., F.S.A., F.R.S.L., Vicar of St. Peter's, Bayswater. Published under the direction of the Royal Society of Literature. London : Henry Frowde. 10s. 6d. net.

THIS is a sumptuous volume on an episode of our commercial history on which, we should imagine, most of us would have to confess our ignorance. During his researches in the Record Office, Mr. Rosedale happened to find the very interesting and important document which he has here published, and which he regards as embodying an attempt to influence the action of Elizabeth and of her Privy Council by a piece of doctored or spurious historical literature. Whether this be so or not, the picture which is here given us of the early relations of our country with Turkey, at a time when Turkey still filled a very great space in the affairs of Europe, is full of curious interest. A great deal of the more important matter is reproduced in facsimile, and the book is also illustrated by a number of very interesting illustrations, including a rare engraving of Queen Elizabeth, which forms the frontispiece. The printing and execution of the whole have been carried out with admirable care and finish.

A. S. B.

Micro-Cosmographie ; or, A Piece of The World Discovered. In *Essays and Characters*. By JOHN EARLE. Cambridge : University Press. 21s.

THIS book first appeared in 1628, when John Earle, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, was but twenty-seven years old. It went through eight editions in the author's life-time (d. 1665). In 1671 it was translated into French under the title of *Le Vice Ridiculé*, and in 1811 a new edition appeared in English.

The edition before us is printed from the sixth "augmented" edition of 1633, in small quarto, upon hand-made paper, from a new type designed exclusively for the University Press and cast solely for it. The small number of copies for sale (225) explain the somewhat prohibitive price.

The work is full of quaint conceits and shows that the euphuism of the previous reign still held its own. The young, raw preacher is described as "a bird not yet fledg'd, that hath hopt out of his nest to bee chirping on a hedge, and will bee straggling abroad at what peril soever." There is much Shakespearian outspokenness, and the author does not hesitate "to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." Thus the drunkard "dares not enter on a serious thought, or, if he does, it is such melancholy that it sends him to be drunk again." Earle, who became Bishop of Worcester and afterwards of Salisbury, has much to say of ecclesiastics, and no doubt was painting his own portrait in the "Grave Divine," where "death is the last sermon, where in the pulpit of his bed he instructs men to die by his example." There are echoes of the conflict of religious opinion; thus the Grave Divine "esteemes the churches' hierarchie as the churches' glory, and however we jarre with Rome, would not have our confusion distinguish us;" and again the Church-Papist "is one that parts his religion betwixt his conscience and his purse, and comes to church not to serve God, but the King."

Much deep wisdom is here enshrined, the caustic wit or biting sarcasm are often but a set-off for kindly appreciation of lowly virtue and true worth. The contemplative man "is a scholar in this great University, the World. He knits his observations together and makes a ladder of them all to climbe to God." Lastly, a modest man "is a far finer man than he knowes of, one that shewes better to all men than himselfe."

F. R.

Jesus Christ the Word Incarnate. By ROGER FREDDI, S.J.
8vo, pp. xi.-403. Freiburg: B. Herder. 1904.

THIS is a series of considerations upon Jesus Christ as the Incarnate Word, gathered from the works of the Angelic Doctor, St. Thomas Aquinas.

The author, or, as he modestly calls himself, the compiler, of the considerations was happy in the inspiration that prompted

him to this work; and we feel sure that by gathering together into one volume all the teaching of St. Thomas upon this mystery of the incarnation, Fr. Freddi has conferred a boon upon clergy and laity alike. His aim is to "invite and assist us to study Jesus Christ in order to know Him, and to know Him in order to love Him." A secondary aim has been to provide preachers with abundant and safe materials, compendiously expressed, for effective sermons upon this sublime mystery. We consider he has fully achieved both aims, and that preacher and people should be grateful to Fr. Freddi for thus putting within easy reach the priceless treasures scattered throughout the works of the Angelic Doctor. The matter treated covers the whole question of the incarnation, from the eternal conception of the Word to the final coming of Christ at the last judgment, the compiler being throughout most faithful to the teaching, and often, too, to the actual phraseology of St. Thomas.

We are sorry that such a book has not received better treatment at the hands of both English—or American—translator and publisher. The former has been unable to break away sufficiently from the original Italian idiom, the result being often quaint and occasionally unpleasant, while the latter has given us a volume which, by quality of both paper and cover, is an uncomfortable one to handle. These however are small blemishes, and should not prevent Fr. Freddi's excellent work from receiving a welcome both warm and wide.

N. G.

De la direction des enfants dans un internat de garçons.

Par M. l'ABBE SIMON. Paris : Maison Ch. Douniol.

IN this interesting work from the pen of M. l'Abbé Simon, the author condenses the results of a twenty years' experience with children in an institution. The arrangement of the book is simple and methodical. The subject matter naturally falls into the two-fold division of (1) affective piety, (2) effective piety. In the former part the writer treats of prayer, ejaculations, the liturgy, the rosary, in as far as they concern and in the degree in which they are fitted to dispose the young mind towards the practice of piety. In the latter part—effective piety—we find set forth the great means of advancement, the particular examen and frequent confession. There follows a consideration of the negative side of piety, viz.,

the obstacles which prevent advancement along the path of virtue. In these chapters the defects of character and the actual faults of children are carefully examined, and practical advice is set forth in the matter of the counsel to be given and the method to be followed with children. The positive aspect is satisfied by a consideration of prayer, mortification, and alms-deeds, spiritual and temporal.

The book is interspersed with prayers suited to the age of children. To those in colleges or schools having the care of younger persons the book will be helpful. One might, however, question the utility of the *Imitation of Christ* to younger minds. It seems a little beyond their years.

— — — E. S. P.

Traité du Découragement dans les voies de la piété ; suivi du Traité des Tentations. Par R. P. J. MICHEL, S.J. Paris : Maison Ch. Douniol. 1904.

THE purpose of this excellent book is indicated in the editor's preface, where we read: "The work seems specially adapted for the instruction of persons living in religious communities. . . . Those who have the direction of souls will find here a means of adding to their light and of supplying any shortcoming in the matter of experience in a ministry so important and so crucial." The dangers and sad effects of discouragement, the sources and motives of Christian hope, practical advice for the times of spiritual dryness—the books well to read at such a time—these form the subjects of this little treatise on discouragement.

As temptations often form, in the spiritual life, the beginnings of want of full hope, the book closes with a treatise on temptations, their meaning and the profit which may be made of them. We cordially recommend the book to those having the cure of religious, or of souls striving in the way of the counsels.

— — — E. S. P.

Evangelie de Saint Jean. Commentaires de P. M. COMPAGNON. Tome 1. Hong Kong : Imprimerie de la Société des Missions Etrangères. 8vo, pp. xl.-691.

M. COMPAGNON writes at the beginning of the volume :—
"Ambitionnant le rôle et le travail de l'abeille, j'ai butiné le plus qu'il m'a été possible, dans les parterres si riches de couleur et de parfum, des interprètes anciens, et tout

d'abord, des SS. Docteurs, les Chrysostôme, les Augustin, et leur admirable compilateur, qui les a tant cités dans son immortelle 'Chaîne-d'Or.'"

And again, in a note to page eight :—" Dans les références, je n'ai marqué ni le titre ni le chapitre des ouvrages auxquels je faisais des emprunts, mais j'ai nommé simplement les auteurs : cela, afin de ne pas surcharger le texte de notes ou de parenthesises. Du reste, comme il s'agit des travaux poursuivis selon une marche parallèle, rien ne serait plus facile que de retrouver, dans les auteurs en question, les passages allégués ou cités textuellement." We may note here that this will not be so easy for the readers whom our author addresses, for he says in the very next line : " Vous n'avez pas et ne pouvez pas avoir en mission, je le sais bien, ces ouvrages si volumineux."

From these citations the character of the volume before us, which deals only with the first twelve chapters of St. John, will be obvious. It is not critical, but devotional. The introduction discusses the usual questions as to authenticity, authorship, date, and place of origin of the Gospels, and settles them with few references to modern scholarship. Perhaps for devotional purposes and missionary needs that is enough.

The commentary is full, as is testified by nearly seven hundred pages devoted to twelve chapters ; and most of it is based upon the interpretation of the Fathers. We noticed a long note on v. 17 :—" Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor." But it seems to us that the author fails to bring out the full force of the passage. Our Lord is justifying His labour on the Sabbath day, and in his defence uses these words. How then are they a defence of our Lord? He claims union with the Father, and to do as He does. Just then as the Father, though the six days of creation are over and He is now celebrating His Sabbath, works (as He does constantly in the world), so I work by healing, &c., on the Sabbath day. Such in the Hebrew style, with no particles to bring out the sense, seems to be the meaning of the words.

The book will no doubt prove useful for devotional purposes, and also not unacceptable to preachers.

J. A. H.

Les Psaumes traduits de l'Hebrew. Par M. B. d'EYRAGUES.
Paris : Libraire Victor Lecoffre. Pp. lxiv.-427. 1904.

AS the name indicates, this volume consists in a translation of the Psalms direct from the Hebrew into French. As such, it will be mostly interesting to French people ; and it will suffice here to say in general that it cannot fail to do good, because it will help to make clearer to the people the meaning of some parts of the Psalter, obscure and indeed almost unintelligible in the Vulgate. We notice that Ps. xxvi. 8, usually wrongly translated "I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth," the author renders correctly :—

"Jahveh ! j'aime le séjour de la maison,
Ce lieu, demeure de ta gloire."

Besides a letter from M. F. G. Vigouroux and a preface on the value of the Psalter by Cardinal Matthieu, the volume contains an introduction dealing with, first, the origin of the Psalms ; second, the literary character of the Psalms ; and, third, the theology of the Psalms. A few words as to this introduction.

We propose to say nothing as to the second part dealing with the literary character of the Psalter ; and, as regards the theology, only to notice that whilst the author discusses briefly the Christian spirit of the Psalter (p. 58) and how far a future life is recognised and appealed to in the Psalms (p. 53), he is silent on the question, so much raised in these days, as to the imprecatory Psalms. We have, however, a few words to say as to the origin of the Psalter.

We do not think that M. d'Eyragues is correct in saying that critics deny *en bloc* the authority of the titles of the Psalms. They do indeed deny that the titles are safe guides as to the authorship of particular Psalms—and so did St. Augustine in practice, assigning all the Psalms to David, whereas the titles assign some to Solomon, Moses, the sons of Core, &c.

Again, is our author on safe ground in assigning a remote antiquity to the Psalms because the Greek translator did not understand the musical terms ? What if the Greek replaced the older and more noisy Hebrew music in the Temple after the conquests of Alexander the Great ? In that case, in a century the old terms might well have been forgotten.

Then M. d'Eyragues says nothing of possible collections of

Psalms within the Psalter. Surely that is a serious omission in discussing the origin of the Psalms in these days ; and again, he hardly mentions the possibility of the Psalms coming in an older form with numberless changes and additions from a remote antiquity—a not unlikely supposition. On the other hand, he is very much opposed, apparently without sufficient grounds, to the idea of Maccabean Psalms.

On the whole, the first part of the introduction does not seem to us to take sufficiently into account the views and arguments of later scholars.

J. A. H.

Nature Teaching : Based upon the general principles of Agriculture. By FRANCIS WATTS, B.Sc., F.I.C., etc., and WM. G. FREEMAN, B.Sc., A.R.C.S., etc. London : John Murray. 1904.

ONE has grown accustomed to the grumbling of the farmer, and while the British farmer has much to put up with in the vagaries of our climate, there is another factor that he rarely reckons with—his own ignorance of the scientific aspect of farming. If the children in our country schools were well drilled in a practical knowledge of the soil, and the various crops a particular soil will most readily produce ; of the nature of plants and the manures they require ; if there were attached to the school property a little garden where the school children could watch and study the life-history of plants, the condition of the future agricultural labourer might be less humdrum and consequently more advantageous than it now is. One answer to the cry "Back to the land" lies, perhaps, this way. A book which is eminently suitable as a text-book for a class of this kind in our schools is *Nature Teaching*, in which the life and growth of a plant is traced, the nourishment it requires is indicated, and the enemies to whose attacks it is liable are pointed out. The book is essentially a practical one, and one, too, that will prove of service to students in an elementary course of botany, as affording many practical hints on the manner of raising and preserving plants as botanical specimens.

E. S. P.

The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

By the Rev. A. A. LAMBING, LL.D. New York, &c. : Benziger Bros. 1904.

THIS is a duodecimo of some 200 pp., and, for its size, a very complete account of the signification and the history of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. It is mostly taken, as the writer unaffectedly states, from Father Coppens, Father Bridgett, and Bishop Ullathorne. But why does Dr. Lambing say that Bishop Ullathorne's book was written "nearly sixty years ago, when the dogma was on the eve of being defined"? It really appeared in 1855, and had a special chapter—the last but one—describing the actual definitions on December 8, 1854. There are interesting details in Dr. Lambing's manual on devotion to the Immaculate Conception in North and South America. N.

The Catholic Manual: a Prayer Book with instructions, advice and devotions for the Catholic laity. By TILMANN PESCH, S.J. Freiburg im Breisgau : B. HERDER.

THE title sufficiently denotes the special character of this Prayer Book, composed by the eminent Jesuit, the late Father Pesch, translated under the superintendence of Dr. Wilhelm, and offered to the public by the enterprise of the well-known Catholic firm of Herder. Most Prayer Books for the laity have more or less exposition, explanation, and instruction intermingled with the devotions proper; there are excellent notes of this kind in the *Garden of the Soul*. But this book, which runs to over 700 pp., and yet is most clearly printed, and issued in the handiest possible form, not only devotes the whole of Part I. (nearly 200 pp.) to a comprehensive treatise on "Religious Culture," but gives explanatory introductions to the prayers for Mass, for the Sacraments, and for many other occasions. The doctrine here laid down is, it need not be said, unexceptionable: the name of the author and the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Freiburg are sufficient guarantee for that; whilst the translation seems to be accurate and idiomatic. To those who are looking for a book that will give them instruction and devotion between the same covers, this manual will prove very acceptable. One or two slight criticisms may be made. Much space is devoted to the Holy

Sacrifice of the Mass—no less than nine methods of hearing Mass being given. Yet it could have been desired that something more impressive might have been said about what the Mass is to a Christian soul. A detailed examination of conscience is given under "Night Prayers," and none, or only a very general one, under the Sacrament of Penance. Among the forms of the Act of Contrition, direct prayer to Jesus for forgiveness, exemplified in the aspiration, "My Jesus, mercy!" should find a place. The prayer *En ego* (p. 416) should have a note to the effect that the plenary indulgence is not gained unless the usual prayer for the intentions of the Sovereign Pontiff is added. The use of the word "preludes" for the two simple acts preceding the Meditation is calculated to scare the hesitating Christian. The "twelve promises" made to Blessed Margaret Mary, as given p. 470 *note*, are puzzling. The first eleven are the usual and traditional enumerations, probably given or authorised by Blessed Margaret herself. But the twelfth is not to be found in any list that we know of. It is well known that about the time of the French "National Vow" (1870) a twelfth promise was added, which related to communion on nine first Fridays. But this book gives quite a different one—a very general promise which may well have been among the revelations of Blessed Margaret Mary, but which we have not been able to find in *Le Règne du Cœur de Jésus*, published by the Montmartre community in 1900.

N.

Saint Paulin, Évêque de Nole (353-431). Par M. ANDRÉ BAUDRILLART, agrégé de l'Université. Pp. vii.-190. "Les Saints" Series. Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, rue Bonaparte, 90.

THIS is a brilliant study of a great and remarkable character of the fourth century. St. Paulinus has the honour of having all the four great Doctors of the Latin Church for his panegyrists. A Gallo-Roman of the highest birth, extremely rich and possessing all the culture of the age, he is chiefly known to hagiography by his renunciation of the world and the years that he spent in holy retirement at Nola in Campania, of which place he became Bishop. The legend, given in the Breviary on June 22, of his having sold himself as a slave to the Vandals in order to ransom his fellow-townsmen, must, we

fear, be definitely given up. St. Gregory the Great, who is the authority for it, must have confused him with a later Paulinus, as the Vandals did not ravage Italy until after the death of our Saint. It is true that in his life-time Nola was taken by the Visigoths, and it is not at all impossible that the word "Vandals" (which at a very early date became a synonym for barbarians of all nationalities) may have been inadvertently used by St. Gregory for Goths. It will always, however, be difficult to explain why St. Augustine, who describes with great detail St. Paulinus's behaviour during the Gothic raid, should have said nothing about this most remarkable legend. The writings of St. Paulinus, in prose and in verse, form a most precious record of Catholic faith and practice in the times of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. M. Baudrillart, besides illustrating with competent learning and insight the facts of his varied history, analyses at considerable length his correspondence with S. Augustine, Alypius, Sulpicius Severus, St. Jerome, Rufinus, and others; but he might, perhaps, have dwelt a little more on the Catholic significance of his writings.

N.

Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. By the COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT. Translated by FRANCIS DEMING HOYD. London: Longmans. 1904.

MONTALEMBERT'S *St. Elizabeth* is now nearly seventy years old. When it appeared it was received with welcome and enthusiasm by every class of Catholic society, and it was a powerful factor in that vindication of Catholic history and Catholic principle which was brought about by such men as Lacordaire, De Fallaux, De Broglie, and the illustrious author himself. An English version, by Ambrose Lisle Phillippe, appeared in 1839. The present translation, which comes to us from the United States, is scholarly and good. It presents the original with adequate force and literary grace. This is no easy task in the case of a style so purely French, so picturesque, and so "periodic," as that of Montalembert. We have noticed very few mistakes, and none of any consequence. The legend of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, as here presented, loses none of its poetry or romance. The illustrious author is perhaps too apt to leave out or gloss over certain details which seem to be at variance with the idyllic character of this most gracious

heroine of mediæval Catholicism. The strange figure of Conrad of Marburg is a good deal softened, and no attempt is made to explain him. The incident of the roses found in the Saint's mantle is not accurately narrated—perhaps in order to avoid the imputation of lying. But the fact seems to be that it happened, not after her marriage, but when she was quite a young child, and that it was her father who questioned her—perhaps roughly. Her reply, "Father, I am carrying roses," would be at worst a very indeliberate falsehood; or more probably, in her innocence, she knew at the moment that her Heavenly Father had wrought a miracle.

N.

Examination Papers on Virgil, Horace, Thucydides.

THESE little volumes, for the production of which we are indebted to the enterprise of Messrs. Methuen and Co., ought to prove a great power in the hands of both master and pupil. It is often difficult for the former, when he is preparing a class for some public examination in classics, to pick out a sufficiently exclusive number of salient and harder parts to the more particular study of which he may recommend his pupils. As far as Horace, Virgil and Thucydides are concerned, at any rate, he will receive valuable help from time to time from consulting these new editions which Messrs. Methuen have placed before the public, and will thereby benefit by the classical acumen which the editors bring to bear on these authors. To the pupil who may wish to become acquainted with the works and style of (say) Horace, and yet may not have time enough to make an exhaustive study of the poet, these selections will come as a god-send.

The Virgil, by W. G. Coast, B.A., includes papers on the Georgics, Eclogues and Æneid, and naturally the greater part of the book deals with the latter. If comparison be permitted, the extracts from Æneid V. and the questions set on the collateral matter of that book will be found most useful, especially as it is a favourite examination author. Such questions as: "Quote any lines showing Virgil's sense of humour" (with the corresponding references to the text given), do not perhaps strike every professor. On the whole the book is rather a master's than a student's book, as the Commentaries, to which we are constantly referred, would naturally be found in the master's library rather than among the student's volumes.

Yet the student who is at all critical will be able without these to obtain a comprehensive view of the scope and style of the works of Virgil.

The compilation of extracts from Horace has evidently been to T. C. Weatherhead, M.A., a labour of love. No difficulty of any import seems to have escaped his vigilance, whether it refer to metre, or to history, or to corrupt text; yet throughout his selections, typical of the author and difficult to construe, are such as we ourselves would have chosen. No student who has read the selections can fail to be impregnated with love for this delightful poet. On the other hand, the questions set will tax his powers to the full, and the correct solutions will give him a much clearer insight into the difficulties which beset the path of the novice.

Thucydides is replete with difficult passages, to select the most important of which and to ask critical and far-reaching questions on the same is the work which T. Nicklin, M.A., has very successfully accomplished. He does not content himself with giving passages to be construed with grammatical questions thereon, but aims at obtaining a much deeper insight into the author's meaning. Whilst he develops the historical side of a question, he does not lose sight of the importance of geographical detail, while questions such as No. 3 on page 74 clearly show us that Mr. Nicklin's knowledge of the technical meanings of Greek nautical terms is of no low order.

As yet these are the only three volumes in this series, but we trust that these pioneers will before long favour us with other similar text-books on other classics (say) Livy, Euripides, etc.

G. W.

Alexis Villié (1881-1901). By the Rev. P. H. d'ARRAS. Translated by LADY HERBERT. Westminster: Art and Book Co. 1904.

THIS is the edifying history of a youth of refined and delicate character, and of great distinction of thought and manners, who died of consumption before he was twenty-one. The greater part of the book is taken up with the description of his life at a *sanatorium* in the Pyrenees, where he spent the last three years of his life, and where he died. Without being particularly striking, the account of his ideas, feelings, sentiments, and sayings is interesting, edifying, and touching. His relations

with his mother are especially pleasant and pathetic. The history of a consumptive is not as a rule exhilarating, and the picture of the *sanatorium* at Vernet, with its atmosphere of disease and death, has much the same effect on the reader as it seems to have had on poor Alexis himself. But his cheerfulness triumphs over all his surroundings, and his resignation is very beautiful. The translation is fair on the whole, but might have been more carefully looked over. The mysterious "points of fire," which appear more than once, refer, it may be presumed, to the use of the electric cauterizing needle. "Rattles under the omoplate" must mean the noise of the lungs under the shoulder-blade. There is no such word in English as "punction." "Classical lists" (p. 149) ought to be "classified lists." The "basket" to which the sick youth is said to betake himself—as if he were a dog—must be a basket-chair.

N.

Letters of Blessed John of Avila. Translated from the Spanish by the BENEDICTINES OF STANBROOK. With Preface by the Right Rev. ABBOT GASQUET, O.S.B. London: Burns and Oates. 1904.

THE twenty-five letters of Blessed John of Avila contained in this volume are well translated. They form a body of excellent spiritual reading. They are addressed chiefly to seculars, and most of them to ladies in the world. Blessed John of Avila was distinguished by his fervent realization of the "mystery of Christ"—the Incarnation, the Cross, and the Blessed Sacrament. These letters—which seem to have been selected perhaps more with a view to practical direction than fervent spirituality—nevertheless display abundantly that wonderful and deep gift of "piety" which explains why this holy man was so esteemed by St. Francis of Sales; see especially letters 4, 10, 17, 20, 21, 22. At the same time they afford ample evidence of that admirable versatility which was one of his gifts: that spirit of counsel which enabled him to give the most useful and efficacious advice to all sorts of people—priests, religious, princes, gentlemen of the world, devout ladies, the sick, the suffering, and the persecuted. Abbot Gasquet quotes the saying of the Ven. Louis of Grenada, that Blessed John of Avila was like "an arquebuse loaded to the very muzzle, which made great havoc at every discharge." This

quaint illustration of the eminent Dominican was really intended to emphasize rather Blessed John of Avila's variety than his force. It was because he "gave advice to every kind of person," says Granada, "that I compared him to that invention which human malice has now invented, inserting several bits of lead in the arquebuses in order to do more harm." In another place the same amiable writer observes that "the breast of this Father was like a spiritual apothecary's shop wherein the Holy Spirit had gathered together medicines to cure all the ills of the souls of men." Abbot Gasquet's preface enters at some length into Blessed John of Avila's history, and explains the principles on which this translation has been made.

N.

Die ruthenisch-roemische Kirchenvereinigung genannt Union zu Brest. Von Dr. EDUARD LIKOWSKI, Weihbischof in Posen (aus dem Polnischen übertragen von Prälat Dr. Paul Yedzink.) Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 8vo, pp. xxiii.-384. Price 6s. 1904.

SINCE Pope Leo XIII. published his epoch-making encyclicals, *Praeclara gratulationis* and *Orientalium dignitas ecclesiarum*, and instituted a standing commission for the reunion of the Eastern Churches with the mother-church of Rome, it is consoling to see how, year by year, books, pamphlets and articles are published by Eastern and Western scholars to solve the delicate problem of reunion; how many prejudices, which still block the way, have already been overcome; and how wonderful are the results which have already been obtained in the Syro-Malabar Church, among the Nestorians in Persia, the Copts in Egypt, etc. No doubt the reunion of the separated churches in the East with the centre of Christianity is of the most vital importance, as it is one of the brightest hopes entertained by the Catholic Church. The thorough knowledge and acquaintance with the events which caused the separation, and the attempts, more or less successful, to bring about the reunion in the past, are therefore certainly one of the best and surest helps to obtain this hoped-for end in the future. The words of Cicero, "Historia testis temporum, lux veritatis, magistra vitae," are equally true for Church History in modern times.

We can therefore but congratulate the learned author, Mgr. Edward Likowski, Auxiliary Bishop of Posen, who, in the standard work of the "Union of Brest" (*Unia Brzeska*), has given us a clear, systematic review of the origin, development and success of the reunion of a great portion of the Ruthenian Church with Rome, which was accomplished at Brest more than three centuries ago (1596) under the greatest difficulties.

The Ruthenians are one of the Slavonic peoples, and were converted to Christianity towards the end of the tenth century, when in 988 Prince Wladimir with the greater portion of the Ruthenian nobility was baptized by missionaries coming from Constantinople. The Ruthenians adopted the Greek rite, but in Slavonic language, and were more or less always dependent upon Constantinople. Though the Greek Church was drawn into the nets of schism and heresy by the Patriarch Michael Caerularius in 1054, the Ruthenians remained faithful to Rome till the beginning of the twelfth century. Several attempts, however, were made to reunite them after they had come under Polish rule, *e.g.*, under Kasimir the Great (1375) and King Wladislaw Yagello. At the Councils of Constance (*Konstanz*), 1418, Ferrara and Florence, 1439, the Ruthenians were represented by Isidor, Metropolitan of Kiev and Ruthenia, who made a submission to Rome, which, however, did not find much favour in the eyes of the Ruthenians. It was only towards the year 1590 that some more enlightened leaders of the Ruthenian Church turned their eyes towards Rome, when they witnessed the sad condition of their Church—plunged into a mixture of Arianism and Protestantism, and governed by Prelates who were only guided by the "*sacra auri fames*," but were otherwise ignorant, indifferent and immoral.

It has often been asserted that this reunion at Brest had been forced upon the Ruthenians by the "intrigues and the religious fanaticism" of the Jesuits at Wilna, especially by Possevin, Peter Skarga and Herbert, who misled Sigismund III. Our author, however, shows on the strength of authentic, hitherto unpublished, documents, how many prejudices and errors underlie this assertion; he shows the real share the Jesuits had in the whole affair, by dispelling the errors and prejudices the Ruthenians entertained against the Catholic Church, and proves that the reunion was entirely the work of the Ruthenian hierarchy, that it was prepared by Gedeon Balabam, Archbishop of Lemberg (later on, however, an opponent), Cyrillus Terletsky, Bishop of

Loutsk, Bernard Maciejowski, and especially by Adam Hypatius Pociej (1599-1614), first Bishop of Wladimir, and later on Metropolitan of Kiew, and finally successfully carried out by the strenuous efforts of Velamin Routski (1604-37), St. Josaphat Kuncenioz, Archbishop of Polozk (1623), "the pillar of the church, the atlas of the union, the Ruthenian Athanasius," and Meletius Smotjyski, who, before the martyrdom of St. Josophat, had been a bitter opponent to the reunion.

Since the days of Peter Skarga, S.J., in the sixteenth century, no writer has ever attempted to describe at full length and in all its details the history of the "Union of Brest," which has been called one of the most important events in the history of the Ruthenian Church as well as of Poland, because the most distinguished Polish historians have been divided in their opinions concerning this reunion with Rome, as it divided the Ruthenian nation into Uniats and Non-Uniats, two parties entirely hostile to each other, and therefore disastrous to the welfare of Poland. The hatred of these writers fell especially on Sigismund III. and his advisers, the Jesuits. The strenuous efforts of Mgr. Likowski, his keen critical eye and his impartiality, have opened a new mine of information, which in many ways will show this reunion of the Ruthenian Church with Rome under a new aspect, for he does not conceal the mistakes which occasionally were made by the Latin missionaries as well as by the Ruthenian clergy.

But we think it the special merit of the author to have shown in their true light the zeal, the earnestness, the disinterestedness of the Uniats, who in this union were only led by the love for the welfare of their Church and nation, and in no way used any armed force to carry out their scheme; and the intrigues of their opponents, or Non-Uniats, such as Count Ostrogski, the so-called "Stauropeigial Confraternities," and Pseudo-Bishops, who did not shrink from calling Mahometans, Protestants and Kossacs to oppose the union with "tooth and nail," with murder and bloodshed.

This standard work of Mgr. Likowski (of which German and French translations have been published) is therefore recommended to all students of church history, and especially to those who have the reunion of the Eastern churches at heart, as they will find in it that spirit of discretion which inspired Pope Leo XIII. and a warm enthusiasm for the hoped-for end of reunion.

D. M. S.

Faith and Knowledge. By W. R. INGE, M.A. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 8vo, pp. viii.-292. 4s. 6d. net. 1904.

THIS volume is made up of a collection of twenty sermons—resembling rather short essays or papers—delivered in various places since the year 1890. As we read through them, the want of clearness and precision in the writer's ideas, the looseness of thought, as well as the undeserved severity of some of his criticisms, became apparent.

As an instance of obscurity of expression as well as of looseness of thought, we may adduce the following:—"The writer of these sermons believes that to make the intellect the obedient servant of the will is to invert the normal course of spiritual progress, which is from faith to knowledge, or (as the mystics say) through discipline to enlightenment. The deepening of faith by personal experience leads naturally to a progressive diminution in the tension between faith and knowledge" (p. vii.).

It is certainly a very crude idea which Mr. Inge (p. vii.) has when he thinks it imperative that church teachers should discourage the notion, to wit, that "God only begins where nature leaves off." He returns to the subject in the sermon on "The Inspiration of the Individual" (p. 161), where, *inter alia*, he refers to the "unscriptural, unphilosophical, and unscientific distinction between natural and supernatural." Is this merely one of Mr. Inge's attempts to say something new? Or is it that he has cast into the dust-bin the scriptural, patristic and theological doctrine of Grace?

Again, are we in presence of an instance of an endeavour to say something striking when the words of the Athenians, in reply to St. Paul's discourse on the Resurrection, "We will hear thee again of this matter" (Acts xvii. 32), are taken to mean that they had no interest in that subject? The ordinary interpretation—though perhaps not so "new and fresh"—seems the correct and obvious one.

Mr. Inge tells us (p. 190) that: "A large number of English and Americans do not wish for life after death, or are indifferent to it." This fact he explains on a principle highly flattering to those concerned. "Any religious belief," he says, "begins to fade as soon as it fails to correspond with the best moral consciousness of mankind." In other words, in plain English, Christianity is not good enough for these high-souled gentry. Dare we, not in our own words, but in words used by Mr. Inge,

suggest a more commonplace explanation (p. 194): "We all know what hinders the Kingdom of God. We can see mammon-worship, selfish luxury, drunkenness, gambling, and other national vices at work."

Let these few examples suffice as samples of Mr. Inge's method. The rest of this review we propose to devote to a brief consideration of his last sermon on "Liberal Catholicism."

In the very beginning he refers to the "condemnation of the Abbé Loisy by the Vatican." But the Abbé was *not* condemned by the Vatican. And not merely so, but the question of his condemnation having been seriously considered, the Vatican of set purpose decided not to condemn him. So much for Mr. Inge's knowledge of *l'affaire Loisy*.

Now, in order to understand the two books referred to by Mr. Inge, it has to be remembered that M. Loisy is arguing against Professor Harnack, who reduces the essence of Christianity to the one dogma of the Fatherhood of God. It is more, answers M. Loisy. It is that which held the first and most important place in the teaching of Jesus. It is the ideas for which He suffered and died: "De même, si l'on veut définir l'essence du christianisme primitif, on devra chercher quelle était la préoccupation dominante des premiers chrétiens, et ce dont vivait leur religion. En appliquant le même procédé d'analyse à toutes les époques, et en comparant les résultats, on pourra vérifier si le christianisme est resté fidèle à la loi de son origine, si ce qui fait aujourd'hui la base du catholicisme est ce qui soutenait l'Eglise du moyen âge, celle des premiers siècles, et si cette base est substantiellement identique à l'Evangile de Jésus, ou bien si la clarté de l'Evangile s'est bientôt obscurcie, pour n'être dégagée de ses ténèbres qu'au XVI^e siècle ou même de nos jours. Si des traits communs se sont conservés et développés depuis l'origine jusqu'à notre temps dans l'Eglise, ce sont ces traits qui constituent l'essence du christianisme" (p. xv.). Such is the idea which M. Loisy sets himself to work out in his books.

In opposition, Mr. Inge writes:—"This argument lies open to several objections" (p. 284), and he proceeds to adduce three. First, he denies "the necessity of some of the accommodations the Church made." Now, passing over the fact that this is mere assertion, how does it affect M. Loisy's principle as against Harnack, that the essence of Christianity lies, not in a single dogma, but in the general body of Christ's

teaching, developed in accordance with the needs of every age? Then, again, he objects that: "It is not admissible to ignore the history of other religious bodies." But there were no other religious bodies up to the sixteenth century, and M. Loisy does not ignore Protestantism. Thirdly, Mr. Inge lays down that "we do not vindicate an institution, still less establish its title to unlimited trust and obedience, by showing that its present state is due to a series of adaptations which were forced upon it in its struggles to exist." He might with equal truth have added that "Queen Anne is dead." It would have had quite as much to do with M. Loisy's argument.

So much for Mr. Inge's general argument. To take now an instance of his method of quotation. Without any explanation, and placing the words within inverted commas, as if they were the *ipsissima verba* of the Abbé Loisy, he writes (p. 287): "The liberal Catholic school acknowledges two Christs—the Christ of the Synoptic Gospels and the Christ of Faith." "There is a sharp distinction," says the Abbé Loisy, "between Jesus of Nazareth and the Lord Christ." Now, what does M. Loisy really say? Having quoted St. Paul (Phil. ii., 6-7 and Acts ii. 23-24, 36) he continues:—"Ces paroles établissent aussi une distinction fort nette entre Jésus de Nazareth 'homme' que les Juifs ont vu et entendu, dont ils ne peuvent avoir oublié les miracles, et le Seigneur Christ que Dieu a exalté en le ressuscitant. Le 'Seigneur Christ' glorifié dans la résurrection est l'objet de la foi chrétienne, comme le Christ préexistant 'en forme de Dieu.' Jésus de Nazareth est le prédicateur et le thaumaturge que tout le monde a connu" (p. iii.). We do not defend this statement, but is it identical with that attributed by Mr. Inge to the abbé?

"This is 'faith' as understood by some Catholics!" exclaims Mr. Inge. We have not the advantage, possessed by Mr. Inge, of knowing the faith of Anglicans from within. We are only outsiders. Perhaps, however, we may have noticed some strange phenomena in the Anglican Church! "Diversitas in unitate!" An uncertain voice as to the Thirty-nine Articles, the Real (or Unreal) Presence, the Athanasian Creed, the Virgin Birth, and so forth! Mr. Inge on these matters may be in a position to speak competently; but it is certain that he must develop more accurate habits of thought before he can with intelligence and knowledge criticise the "faith" of Catholics, whether "liberal" or otherwise.

J. A. H.

The Theology of the Reformed Church. By the late WM. HASTIE, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, George Street. 8vo, pp. xvi.-283. Price 4s. 6d. net. 1903.

THE author of this volume endeavours to show forth the principles upon which the Reformed Church is based. He maintains that the Reformed Church of Calvin, Zwingli, and Knox is distinct from the Lutheran both in origin and in the phase of its fundamental doctrine. For while Luther cried out against the corrupt practices of Rome and the doctrine of "good works," the Reformers directed their attack against the idolatry of the Catholic Church. In a word, the Lutherans were anti-Judaic and the Reformers anti-pagan. Both claim, however, to bring the individual soul into immediate relationship with God. Belonging to the Church, therefore, is the result rather than the condition of union with God. There is, nevertheless, this great difference between them, namely, that the Lutheran, looking to the human term of the union, bases his salvation on a state of trust in God; while the Calvinist regards the divine term of the union, and sees salvation to be entirely dependent upon the all-pervading causality of God moving man irresistibly to his destiny. The latter is the doctrine of the Scottish Church. It is the glory of that Church and the source of its vitality, and must be ever brought home to the various sects in Scotland claiming descent from the Reformers. It is to be fought for unceasingly and vigorously against the Roman Church; and by its means it is to be hoped that the Anglican Church will be purified.

Worked out logically, the author's conception of God's absolute causality leads to absolute election and positive reprobation of the souls of men, and the conclusion that sin would thus enter into the divine purpose is plainly admitted (p. 235). Calvin held that the issue of death was final for all eternity. Whether this be so or whether there will be further development in the souls of the damned until the spirit-world be united in a final eternal harmony, this is the profound problem for reformed theology to solve in the future.

This is the underlying idea of the book. The Reformed Church is taken as an historical fact; and a *raison d'être* is sought on the principles of evolution. The prevailing idea with the Reformers was the absolute sovereignty of God, and upon

this the mission of the Reformed Church stands or falls. No attempt is made to justify it upon Scriptural grounds.

To the Catholic reader, besides several misrepresentations of Catholic doctrine, there are many things in the book which are distasteful, and some things nothing short of blasphemy. But all men who have any religion in them whatever will shrink from the horrible doctrine that their destiny is fixed independently of all they can do. No wonder the modern reformed theologians are looking to eternity to sooth the terrors of Calvinistic fanaticism.

— F. E. O'H.

Reformation and Renaissance. (Circa. 1377-1610.) By J. M. STONE. London: Duckworth and Co. 1904. Pp. 470.

IT is not often that it falls to a reviewer to deal with a book so interesting as this latest work by the author of *Mary of England*. The interest, indeed, is due alike to the subject and to the author. The history of that wonderful period of complex forces and changing ideas which marks the passage from the Ages of Faith to the secular Modern World, yet which is called the Renaissance, must ever be of fascination to the student of progress and culture. The drama of the rise of Protestantism, that "comedy" which an illustrious spectator described so bitterly, has too uniformly sordid a background to be able to make so powerful an appeal to men of refined intelligence; but the world in which we live has been too much conditioned by it to allow one to join it, even though the forces which it generated may seem to have run themselves to completion. The Reformation and Renaissance form, when taken together, a study of profound importance and most varied interest; yet are peculiarly difficult to treat of with fulness, if only on account of the many distinguished authors who have led the way in it. To take only the Renaissance, for instance, the author who now treats of it has to justify her dealing with a subject-study dealt with in the graphic and voluminous works of J. A. Symonds and the profound and subtle essays of Walter Pater. Yet even in this half of her chosen task Miss Stone establishes her right to be heard despite the many voices that have been heard before her. She has the advantage of Pastor's work and of the many sources opened up by research during the last decade. She has, moreover, a *raison d'être* for her book—the Catholic attitude and point of view—which can guide her sympathies aright amidst the

complex interests she traces, and which is able to provide the atmosphere and light in which the events recorded can be seen in due proportion.

We have said that the subject is interesting; Miss Stone's treatment of it is hardly less so. She has an immense store of information, but unlike other writers who might be named, she is not a slave to it: she handles her vast collection of materials with lightness and charm—there is not a page in the whole book that one could charge with heaviness. She has, too, in a high degree that quality fundamental in all *literature*—the human interest, the personal touch; she has a kindly sympathy with all the characters on that crowded stage before which she asks us to take the place of spectators.

And what a vivid multitude they are, and how much history their names sum up! Petrarch, Nicholas V., Pius II.; the revolted German friar, and Cranmer, his no more worthy counterpart; the astute Wolsey and the bewildering Rabelais; Calvin and Knox; the brilliant diplomatists of Elizabeth's earlier Court—they are all here. There is the Scholar of Rotterdam graphically contrasted with the Visionary Preacher of Florence, and vindicated from the character of Protestant leader, still attributed to him by Sunday School teachers in popular tracts.

"But the truth is that Erasmus was no reformer, neither was he a heretic, nor an infidel, nor a very devout Catholic. It is an absurdity to say that he introduced the Bible to the world, although he translated the New Testament from Greek into Latin. . . . His convictions had less hold on him than his fastidious taste. . . . He has nothing in him of his youth, but literature he has loved from his youth upwards." This chapter on Erasmus is perhaps the best in the book, and abounds in details of his life, especially of his stay in England. A great deal that is of fresh interest will also be found in the chapters dealing with the English Reformation.

The book is brought out in most artistic form and on excellent thick paper, which it is a pleasure to thumb. And the sixteen portraits of leading characters add greatly to the beauty and interest of the volume.

M. M.

Eusebius Theophanie : Die Griechischen Bruchstücke und Übersetzung der Syrishen Überlieferung. Von Dr. HUGO GRESSMANN. 17s. 6d.

Eusebius Onomastikon der Biblischen Artsnamen. Von Lic. Dr. ERICH KLOSTERMANN. (In the series of Greek Fathers of First Three Centuries.) Leipzig : Berlin Academy. 20s. 1904.

VISITORS to the British Museum who take an interest in Oriental MSS. are familiar with the magnificent Syriac Codex (Add. 12,150) exposed to public gaze in one of the show cases, for it is unique in beauty and age (completed in February, 411 A.D.). This Codex contains amongst other things the only extant text of a Syriac translation of Eusebius' *Theophania*, of which the original Greek for the greater part has been lost. This interesting work of Christian antiquity, thus rescued from oblivion, is a brief exposition and defence of the Christian faith, expounded in a very abstract and philosophical manner ; it is almost a recast in shorter form of his *Demonstratio Evangelica*. Since 1843 we have possessed a translation of the Syriac text by Samuel Lee, which, though in every respect praiseworthy, is obviously imperfect, owing to the then stage of Syriac studies. It is the merit of Dr. Gressmann to have given us an accurate and anxiously correct German translation. The accusation, however, of obscurity arising from scrupulous fidelity to the original, which Dr. Gressmann brings against the Syriac translator from the Greek, must also be brought against the present German translator. Book I. on the Logos is heavy reading indeed, even for one who has read German from childhood. It is certainly a forcible illustration of the obscurity of the Syriac. A further merit of Dr. Gressmann is to have collected all Greek fragments of the *Theophania*, mainly found in Catenae. With painstaking industry these are brought together, although this task was rendered considerably lighter by previous similar researches of H. Lietzmann and especially of the young but eminent Catholic Scholar, Dr. Joseph Sickenberger.

For Old Testament scholars the *Onomastikon* of Eusebius must ever remain a main work of reference on the geography of Palestine. As the only direct source we possess for the Greek text is a late (twelfth century) Vatican *Palimpsest*, with numberless corruptions and omissions, a critical edition of this important work is beset with many difficulties. Six learned editors, beginning with the Jesuit Bonfrère (1631) and ending

with Lagarde (1887), have tried their hand at the work, marking different stages of progress; but even the present editor, Dr. Klostermann, of Kiel, does not, and obviously cannot, consider his edition as final. The chief value of the present endeavour consists in a critical edition of St. Jerome's—unfortunately rather free—Latin translation, which is printed side by side with the original Greek. A few cautious emendations have been introduced into the Greek, based on the Latin version. The critical apparatus is gathered from parallel passages in Procopius, from HLXX., *i.e.*, *Septuag. Hexapl.*, and the map of Medaba. A printer's error like that on page xxvi., line 25, is fortunately a rare occurrence in these publications of the Berlin Academy, which are, indeed, models of accuracy.

J. P. A.

General Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures.

Abridged Edition. By Rev. FRANCIS E. GIGOT, S.S., D.D.
New York: Benziger Bros. 1904. 8vo, pp. 304, with 19 plates. 1 dol. 50 c.

THIS abridged edition of Father Gigot's "General Introduction" ought to meet with the same reception as the former and larger work. It is arranged upon the same lines and follows the same general method of treatment; and though, of course, neither so complete nor so extensive, will prove possibly even of more general utility than the unabridged work. The "General Introduction" is planned upon a thoroughly scientific basis. The history of the canons of Old and New Testament is briefly and clearly given, and a chapter is devoted to the Apocryphal Books of the Bible. This forms the first part of the volume. The second is occupied with textual criticism, and includes chapters upon the Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Latin, and English versions of the text. The third and fourth parts of the book deal with Biblical hermeneutics and theopneustics; the chapter upon the proofs of biblical inspiration being especially clear and good. A noteworthy feature is the prefixing of a synopsis to each chapter. These are admirably arranged, and help to fix the matter treated upon the mind of the student. There are copious and valuable notes throughout, and the plates, while not, of course, absolutely necessary, give a very good impression as to the state of the better-known manuscripts. The volume has the *imprimatur* of the Administrator of New York, is well printed and bound, but is, unfortunately, disfigured by several misprints.

C. S. B.

Summula Philosophiae Scholasticae in usum Adolescentium Seminarii Beatae Mariae de Monte Melleario Concinnata. Volumen II., "Cosmologia et Psychologia." Dublinii : Brown et Nolan. 8vo, pp. 423. 1904.

THE first volume of this philosophical manual was noticed some time back in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW. We can only repeat that the excellent impression then made by the work is renewed by this second volume. The treatment of such questions as the Atomic Theory, Evolution, and Monism is briefly, though carefully, carried out, and the reader has the advantage of possessing in the copious footnotes, for the most part drawn from English writers, most of the modern aspects of the various subjects. To show how much the author of this useful volume has made use of modern authorities, it is only necessary to point out the extracts he has made from so recent works as those, for example, of Father Gerard, Father Tyrrel, or Lord Kelvin. But the quotations are not confined to English ones alone, and the student will find much help from the very careful selection placed at his disposal by the author. We can cordially recommend the work, and look forward to the publication of a third volume to complete the course.

C. S. B.

In clear and forcible language the Rev. John H. Stapleton sets forth his MORAL BRIEFS (New York : *Bensiger Bros.*; 1904 ; 6s.). He does not mince matters in treating of the deadly sins, the theological virtues, and the Ten Commandments. The book ought to be useful to the laity, but it is feared that its circulation will be hampered by the price.

Theological text-books remind one at times of the works of minor poets—they are not always necessary. The Rev. P. Mannens, S.T.D., gives his lectures to his students to the public in THEOLOGIAE DOGMATICAE INSTITUTIONES (Ruraemundae : *Romen* ; 3 vols.). His writing is lucid and simple, but the work does not strike one as being very original in treatment. We should have preferred a handy manual.

We can cordially commend Canon Pighi's DE JUDICIO SACRAMENTALI—DE NATURA PECCATI (Verona : *Cinquetti* ; 1904. Third Edition). It is interesting and useful, treating, as it does, of the principal and essential office of the confessor. The chapters, "De Occasionariis," "De Habitatis," and "De Recidivis" are especially good ; and the lucid exposition of the doctrine of original sin will be of great service to not a few.

Another of those periodical pamphlets that from time to time appear in favour of Equiprobabilism is Fr. Ter Haar's VEN. INNOCENTII XI. DE PROBABILISMO DECRETI HISTORIA ET VINDICATIO (Roma: *Pustet*; 1904). The author tells us that one of the motives that led to its production was "the attack made by non-Catholics . . . upon the Catholic Church chiefly on account of the doctrine of Probabilism." The pamphlet contains abundant evidence of the author's erudition—but we cannot but think that it might have served some better cause; for ninety per cent. of the schools uphold the system of Probabilism. St. Alphonsus approves it, and the vast majority of confessors employ it.

Well printed and very beautifully illustrated by Carlos Schwabe is THE GOSPEL OF THE CHILDHOOD OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST (London: *Burns and Oates*; 1904; 3s. 6d. net), with an introduction by Alice Meynell. The original Latin text, with a translation by Henry Copley Greene, are given on opposite pages. The charm of the narrative, apochryphal as it is, is irresistible; and, whatever its source, to read can only be to be raised and bettered.

VERS LE MARIAGE (Paris: *Tequi*) contains 400 pages of excellent advice for girls thinking of entering the holy state of matrimony. It is written in an entertaining style; advice, anecdote, and contrasted types being woven together with the solid basis of good doctrine. The book is to be strongly recommended, and is well worth translating into English.

We have on our table a new edition of THE LITTLE OFFICE OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE MOST BLESSED VIRGIN MARY (London: *Burns and Oates*; 1904), with a translation by Edmund Waterton.

In his second edition of CARMINA MARIANA (London: *Burns and Oates*) Mr. Orby Shipley has inserted some poems by Elizabethan writers, Spenser for example, and other non-Catholics, on Ideal Beauty. Such a hearty welcome was accorded to the first edition that it is sufficient to call the attention of our readers to the present volume.

A third edition of COMFORT FOR THE FAINT-HEARTED, by Ludovicus Blosius, comes to us from the Art and Book Co. Fr. Bertrand Wilberforce's translation from the Latin is a good one; and has evidently been appreciated. The work has long been known and valued, and in its present form ought to have a large circulation and bring much comfort to oppressed souls.

The experiment of re-casting in blank verse an already celebrated prose poem is not always attended with success; yet Mr. James Rhoades, in the fifty-two connected poems which tell again the well-known tales of the Fioretti has shown the touch of true and delicate appreciation. The *LITTLE FLOWERS OF ST. FRANCIS IN ENGLISH VERSE* (London: *Chapman and Hall*; 5s.) deserves a hearty welcome.

An erudite essay upon the development and meaning of the Episcopal Rationale comes to us from Munich. Dr. L. Eisenhofer has a good deal to say upon its various forms from Hebrew times down to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. *DAS BISCHÖFLICHE RATIONALE* is published by *J. J. Lentner*, München.

We have more than once had occasion to thank Dr. Moore for thoughtful and scholarly work on Dante. We now have to congratulate him on a third edition of *TUTTE LE OPERE DI DANTE ALIGHIERI* (Oxford: *Clarendon Press*). A thorough revision has removed the few slips noticeable in the 1894 and 1897 texts. We do not know a single volume edition more worthy than this of its contents and of its producer.

From *Messrs. Burns and Oates* we have received three reprints—of *FABIOLA*, *CALLISTA*, and *LOSS AND GAIN*—published at sixpence each. They are well done, more than well worth the exceedingly moderate price asked, and likely to have an extensive circulation.

The same firm has reprinted and issued *THE CHRONICLE OF JOCELYN* (2s. 6d. net), with an excellent foreword by Dr. Barry, and an introduction, notes, and index by Sir Ernest Clarke, F.S.A. It is well produced, and it need not be said, of absorbing interest to the minute historian.

In the same binding and letterpress comes the encouraging, if sad, story of the *LIFE OF SIR THOMAS MORE, KNT.* (1s. 6d. net), by his son-in-law, William Roper. The foreword here is from the pen of Sir Joseph Walton, Knt., brief and to the point. "No figure which passes across the stage of English history has a more fascinating interest than that of Thomas More, especially to those of us who profess the ancient faith for which he died, and now revere him as blessed."

Yet a third volume of this "Past and Present" Library is the *Philobiblion*—de Bury's *THE LOVE OF BOOKS* (1s. net), with its appropriate foreword by the scholarly Bishop of Clifton. If books now were as rare as in the time of that lover of books, the erstwhile Bishop of Durham, surely all would long to

possess this, as well as the two other dainty volumes, upon their shelves. But books are cheap now !

AT THE DEATH-BED OF DARWINISM (Burlington, Iowa: *German Literary Board*; 1904) is a useful work for the Catholic philosopher and scientist. This book is the authorized translation of a series of papers by E. Dennert, Ph.D., and shows how the Darwinian form of the problem of organic evolution is being relegated to the domain of exploded theories. There are evolution theories and evolution theories, some compatible with science and with faith, some not. Darwin's apparently is a theory out of gear with the most modern science ; and the book before us puts us into touch with the latest German scientific thought upon the subject.

Interesting, as showing the idea of immortality that is more or less popular at present, is Dr. Osler's SCIENCE AND IMMORTALITY (London: *Constable and Co.*; 1904), in which the whole onus of proof is put upon an unreasoning faith. In this Ingersoll Lecture the world is divided into Laodiceans, Gallo-nians, and Teresians, among the last class only being found the salt of the earth. "Narrow, prejudiced, often mistaken in worldly methods, they alone have preserved in the past, and still keep for us to-day, the faith that looks through death."

SHADOWS LIFTED (New York: *Bensiger Bros.*; 1904; 3s. 6d.) is another boy's tale from the pen of Fr. Copus, S.J., the author of *Harry Russell* and *St. Cuthbert's*. Of course it is American—but this sort of book is really much wanted, and it ought to receive as warm a welcome here as on the other side of the Atlantic. It is a good, stirring, and interesting school story—just the thing to give to boys.

A new collection of tales is THE RIDINGDALE BOYS (London: *Burns and Oates*; 1904), by Fr. David Bearne, S.J. This volume contains twenty-two tales in all, and is sure of a good welcome among the younger members of the community. The illustrations leave something to be desired, but the tales are in the author's brightest and healthiest style.

Another boy's book from the same indefatigable pen is LANCE AND HIS FRIENDS (London: *Catholic Truth Society*; 1905; 2s. 6d.). Many children have already made Lance's acquaintance, and will be delighted to meet him and his friends again without any further introduction. The contents are arranged in chapters, each of which is practically a separate tale. The volume is in every way excellently produced, and has two very good illustrations from photographs.

Books Received.

Thomæ Hemerken à Kempis: Opera Omnia. Volumen Sextum. Edidit Michael Josephus Pohl. Friburgi: Herder. MDCCCCV. Pp. 411 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by 4). 4s. 5d.

Liber Jesu Filii Sirach sive Ecclesiasticus Hebraice. Edidit Norbertus Peters. Friburgi: Herder. MCMV. Pp. xvi.-163 (9 by $5\frac{3}{4}$). 3s.

The Yoke of Christ. Readings chiefly intended for the Sick. By the Rev. Robert Eaton. London: Catholic Truth Society. 1905. Pp. xi.-389 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 2s. 6d.

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The Luck of Linden Chase. By S. M. Lyne. London: Catholic Truth Society. 1904. Pp. 158 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$). 1s.

Another Handful of Myrrh. (Devotional Conferences.) London: Catholic Truth Society. 1905. Pp. 94 (5 by $3\frac{1}{2}$). 3d.

Ideals of Science and Faith. By Various Authors. Edited by the Rev. J. E. Hand. London: George Allen. 1904. Pp. xix.-333 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$). 5s. net.

An Inquiry into the Principles of Modern Theosophy. By Pestonji Ardeshir Wadia, M.A. Bombay: Anklesaria. 1904. Pp. xiii.-215 (7 by 5).

Sursum Corda. A Manual of Private Prayers for each Day of the Week. London: Burns and Oates. Pp. 104 ($5\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$).

- "Vinisius to Nigra."** A Fourth Century Christian Letter. Written in South Britain and discovered at Bath. Now Deciphered, Translated, and Edited by E. W. B. Nicholson, M.A. London: H. Frowde. 1904. Pp. 16 ($8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 1s. net.
- La Sainte Vierge.** "Les Saints." Par René-Marie de la Broise. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1904. Pp. vi.-250 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$). 2 fr.
- Les Seize Carmélites de Compiègne.** Par Victor Pierre. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1905. Pp. xxiv.-188 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$). 2 fr.
- Le Livre d'Isaie.** Traduction Critique avec Notes et Commentaires. Par le P. Albert Condamin, S.J. Paris: V. Lecoffre. 1905. Pp. xix.-400 (10 by $6\frac{1}{2}$).
- A Complete and Practical Method of the Solesmes Plain Chant.** From the German of Rev. P. Suitbertus Birkle, O.S.B. Adapted and Edited by A. Lemaistre. New York: Joseph F. Wagner. Pp. 150 (8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 1 dol.
- Shadows Lifted.** (A Sequel to "St. Cuthbert's.") By the Rev J. E. Copus, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros. 1904. Pp. 262 ($7\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 8s. 6d.
- Principles of Sacred Eloquence.** By John Placid Conway, O.P. New York: Joseph F. Wagner. Pp. 54 (8 by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 50 cents.
- Les Infiltrations Protestantes et L'Exégèse du Nouveau Testament.** Par l'Abbé J. Fontaine. Paris: V. Retaux. 1905. Pp. xiv.-507 ($7\frac{1}{4}$ by $4\frac{3}{4}$). 3.50 fr.
- The Love of Books.** With a Foreword by George Ambrose Burton, Bishop of Clifton. London: Burns and Oates. Pp. xxi.-148 ($6\frac{1}{2}$ by 5). 1s. net.
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- Last Letters of Aubrey Beardsley.** With an Introductory Note by the Rev. John Gray. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1904. Pp. ix.-158 ($8\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$). 5s. net.
- Divorce: a Domestic Tragedy of Modern France.** By Paul Bourget. Translated from the French by E. L. Charlwood. London: David Nutt. 1904. Pp. ix.-414 ($7\frac{3}{4}$ by $5\frac{1}{4}$). 6s.
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